# The Outlook

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Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

Address all mail communications to The Outlook Company, Box 37, Madison Square Branch P. O., New York City

### CHINO-JAPANESE NEGOTIATIONS

If the reports from Peking are to be accepted, the negotiations between Japan and China have reached a crisis. Many of the so-called " demands " of Japan have been acceded to by China; but Group V, which is reported to include demands for the employment by China of Japanese advisers in political, financial, and military affairs; the supervision of the Chinese police; the right of Japanese ownership of land for the building of hospitals, schools, and churches; Japanese supervision over the manufacture or purchase by China of munitions of war; various railway and mining rights, and the right of the Japanese to propagate Buddhism in China, has, so it is said, been rejected.

The Outlook does not print these demands as news; it simply reports them. As a matter of fact, they are probably as inaccurate as the majority of other reports regarding these so-called demands. It is further reported that negotiations between the two countries have ceased; that the Government at Tokyo is about to issue an ultimatum to the Government at Peking; and that the latter Government is concentrating a large body of troops for the defense of China.

A few weeks ago there were very definite reports of protest to Tokyo from Washington, London, and Paris; and reports also of conferences between the three Powers, and between Great Britain and the United States. It is interesting to note that Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, and one of the frankest statesmen living, said, in answer to an inquiry in Parliament, that, beyond a brief informal conversation with Ambassador Page in February, no communications on the subject of Japanese demands had passed between the two Governments. He confirmed the report of the presence of Japanese troops at Hankau; but that force has very seriously diminished in number from the newspaper accounts. There are, according to Sir Edward Grey, 39 officers, 633 men, and 30 machine guns!

Meanwhile, if President Wilson is correctly reported, he regards the situation between China and Japan as distinctly hopeful, and thinks that it will soon be so clarified that the position of this Government towards the two Powers may be disclosed. Although the United States Government has been scrupulously silent, it has undoubtedly been fully cognizant of all that has taken place in Peking.

It is much to be hoped that the negotiations have reached a point where publicity will make an end of the many confusing, misleading, and untrustworthy reports that have come from the Far East.

### WOMEN AND PEACE

The Women's Peace Congress at The Hague has met, deliberated, and adjourned. Among the expressions of opinion by resolution of the convention were, that in future there should be no secret treaties; that moral, social, and economic pressure should be brought to bear on nations that will not arbitrate disagreements; that no territory should be transferred without the consent of the people living in it; that children should be educated to an ideal of constructive peace; that women have a responsibility toward war that can be effective only through political rights; that justice and humanity require that peace negotiations in this war begin at once; that armaments should be nationalized—that is, we suppose, arms and ammunition be made only by Government factories; and that neutral countries should immediately offer " continuous mediation " without an armistice—whatever that may mean. A permanent International Woman's Peace Committee was formed.

We are sorry to have to say it, but the deliberations of the Congress, of which Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago, was President, have had little effect upon public opinion, and none at all upon the Governments involved



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in the European war. Every right-minded person of either sex shares with Miss Addams and her colleagues a horror of war and a desire to find some basis upon which civilized peoples of the world may live in international peaceful relations. But we believe that the overwhelming public opinion of neutral nations is in sympathy with Mademoiselle Hamer, a Belgian delegate to the Hague Congress, who protested in one of the meetings of the Congress that the women of the world should seek for justice before they seek for peace. She said:

I am a Belgian before everything, and I cannot think as you do. There can be no peace without justice. The war must continue until the Belgian wrongs have been righted. There must be no mediation except at the bar of justice.

The Associated Press despatches say that at this sentiment "a part of the audience broke into cheers." Our criticism of "the part" which did not break into cheers is based upon Miss Addams's own signed cable despatches to the Chicago "Herald" and the New York "Times." The following incident, for example, is apparently considered by Miss Addams as one of the important episodes of the Congress. We give it in her own words:

Another moment of high emotion came when the Congress rose in grateful assent to the suggestion of the Dutch Arrangements Committee that the huge consignment of flowers donated by growers throughout the Kingdom be sent to the hospitals for wounded soldiers in the countries near by—England, France, Belgium, and Germany—military authorities and the Red Cross officials having already gladly agreed to see to their distribution.

The grave and terrible questions of the great European war are not settled by "moments of high emotion" of this kind. We hope that the Women's Peace Congress at The Hague has not inadvertently put another weapon into the hands of those doubters who assert that women are emotional and unfit to take an active part with men in matters of great public import.

### THE TRIAL AT SYRACUSE

Last week a staff correspondent of The Outlook described the earlier sessions of the suit for damages on the charge of libel brought against Mr. Roosevelt by Mr. Barnes. In one or more letters to follow from our correspondent the story will be carried on to its conclusion. Meanwhile it may be noted that the second week of the trial, although substantial advance was made by the defense, was less dramatic than the first to the view of the general public, partly because the interest did not center so much around the personality of either plaintiff or defendant, partly because the introduction and reading of letters from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Barnes to Mr. Platt and the replies, and the sifting out of testimony relating to the printing ring at Albany, in which Mr. Barnes was, as is claimed, a silent and profiting partner, were interrupted by nice questions of law or involved in business intricacies.

Notably the most stirring episode of this second part of the defense was the appearance and testimony of ex-Senator Frederick M. Davenport, who described the defeat of the Hinman-Green Primary Bill by a combination of Democratic and Republican Senators of the strict organization type, thereby supporting Mr. Roosevelt's statement that "the interests of Mr. Barnes and Mr. Murphy are fundamentally identical," and that "the two bosses . . . will always be found fighting on the same side," and "really form the all-powerful invisible government." Mr. Davenport's straightforwardness and forcefulness made a strong impression on the hearers. Mr. Ivins, in cross-examining, was injudicious enough to heckle the witness on his remark to Senator Grattan about Mr. Barnes when the latter was in hearing: "You are the mouthpiece of a political Nero who fiddles just outside this chamber while Rome burns." In response to Mr. Ivins, Mr. Davenport replied: "Mr. Barnes was not fiddling, but he was ruthless like Nero. . . . I believed that our institutions were in grave danger on account of what I had seen going on—the usurpation of authority over the Legislature by a power outside of the Legislature."

Mr. Harvey D. Hinman and Mr. Josiah D. Newcomb—both Senators at the time—gave corroborative testimony of Mr. Davenport's exposition of bi-partisan combinations for purposes antagonistic to the general welfare.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, now Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a Democrat and a distant cousin of the defendant, stated that Senator Grady had told him at the time of the deadlock in the Legislature over the Senatorial fight that there was no chance of breaking the deadlock because Barnes had arranged with Murphy to keep hands off.

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### THE WESTERN RAILWAY WAGE DECISION

A canvass of editorial opinion in American newspapers in regard to the recent decision of the Federal Board of Arbitration, affording certain concessions in wages, hours, and conditions of labor to sixty-four thousand locomotive engineers, firemen, and hostlers employed by ninety-eight Western railways in the United States and Canada, shows a disposition on the part of many editorial writers to hail the work of the Arbitration Board as a failure—"a compromise that suits no one." With this view The Outlook does not agree.

The dispute between these Western railway owners and their employees may be said to have begun in October, 1913, when the employees demanded increased pay, a more acceptable basis of reckoning pay, and other concessions. Both sides appealed to the Federal Board of Mediation, established under the Newlands Amendment to the Erdman Law. The subsequent decision of the arbitrators was accepted by the trainmen, but rejected by the railway managers. This rejection so angered the employees that they were on the point of striking last August, when, at the outbreak of the war, President Wilson persuaded the managers to submit the whole matter for arbitration once again.

The members of the Board of Arbitration, which made its decision the other day, were Judge Peter C. Pritchard, Presiding Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit; Chairman Charles Nagel, ex-Secretary of Commerce and Labor; W. L. Park, Vice-President of the Illinois Central; H. E. Byram, Vice-President of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy; Timothy Shea, Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; and Frederick A. Burgess, Assistant Grand Chief Engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Space forbids a résumé of the detailed award made by this Board. Among other items, however, increased overtime pay was granted to passenger engineers and firemen. The railway employees were disappointed by the failure of the Board to grant many of the demands most desired by them, including time-and-a-half payment for overtime work in freight and switching service and the five-hour day in the passenger service; and the two labor representatives on the Board refused to sign the award and filed a dissenting opinion. Judge Pritchard, moreover, according to the newspapers, expressed an opinion that "the freight rates as well as the yard rates for firemen and engineers agreed upon by the Board are not as high as they should be." On their part, the representatives of the railway managers, Messrs. Byram and Park, declared that the placing of their signatures on the award did not signify "approval of it in principle or in detail."

Despite this dissatisfaction of the direct parties to the controversy, and despite the fact that the award is binding for only one year from May 10, and that the dispute will then probably be reopened, there is much ground for public satisfaction with the situation. The fact that both the representatives of capital and the representatives of labor are displeased with a decision in a labor dispute is no indication that a fair measure of justice has not been attained and that the public's interests have not been safeguarded. And, moreover, every time that the principle of arbitration is accepted in a quarrel between labor and capital another step is taken away from the intolerable idea of industrial war to the knife.

### A PROSPECTIVE HERESY TRIAL

The daily papers report an attack upon Union Theological Seminary coming simultaneously and apparently by preconcerted action from three quarters.

Dr. John Fox, of New York City, according to this report, has issued a pamphlet indicting the Seminary for teaching false doctrines and the New York Presbytery for indorsing such teaching by licensing the graduates from the Seminary. Dr. Fox also calls upon the General Assembly to investigate the New York Presbytery because of its alleged laxness. A volunteer body of Presbyterian clergymen have at the same time issued an appeal to the churches to unite in defense of certain doctrines, or, to speak more accurately, of certain phraseologies which professors in the Union Theological Seminary are supposed not to accept as accurate definitions of the teaching either of the Bible or of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and urging the churches not to call to the pastorate any man who does not agree with this committee in their definitions. This circular, however, does not mention the Union Theological Seminary by name. The third source of attack is the preparation of a proposal to be submitted to the General Assembly at its next session, to be held this

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month, preparing the way for action by the Assembly forbidding presbyteries to send their students to Union Theological Seminary or to license or ordain its graduates until their errors of doctrine are corrected by further instruction under other teachers.

Our readers will remember that in 1893 Dr. Charles A. Briggs, Professor of Biblical Theology in Union Theological Seminary, was tried and convicted of heresy by the General Assembly, who could and did remove him from the Presbyterian ministry, but could not remove him from his professor's chair; that notwithstanding his trial and condemnation he was received as a clergyman in good and regular standing by the Episcopal Church and continued teaching in the Union Theological Seminary until his death. Subsequently a charge of heresy was brought by Dr. John Fox against Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall, the President of the Seminary, but Dr. Fox found no support and the charge was not pushed to a trial. We here report simply this new attempt against the Union Theological Seminary as we find it reported in the press, only adding that the attempt to repress supposed heresies by either ecclesiastical or civil tribunals has never proved a success in American church history; its effect has been, on the contrary, to give the doctrines complained of a wider circulation. The American way to meet erroneous teaching, whether in religion, morals, or politics, is not by repression, but by open and free discussion.

### PENROSE AND BRUMBAUGH

The State of Pennsylvania has not had the reputation it really deserves. It has too long been considered a stand-pat State, socially and morally, as well as politically.

The Progressive campaign of 1912, however, showed that Pennsylvania could no longer be regarded as a surely reactionary State. And now a new campaign has confirmed what the Progressives proved. The campaign has been conducted by one man. He is the Governor of the State. It is fitting that an executive should develop a State's latent moral strength, and that is the enduring distinction which must always attach itself to the name of Martin Grove Brumbaugh, Governor of Pennsylvania.

For several years he was Superintendent of Schools in Huntingdon County; he then became President of Juniata College, and since 1906 has been Superintendent of the Philadelphia Public Schools. He stands in Republican politics for what President Wilson does in Democratic—that is to say, he has an educationist's high ideals. He had been accounted a genuinely fine public servant and a man of real influence. Hence he was nominated for Governor at the same time that Mr. Penrose was nominated for another term in the United States Senate, so that the Republican ticket might gain in respectability.

It was a wise move. The ticket was elected. Excellent as had been Dr. Brumbaugh's previous reputation, the wheelhorses of the Republican party in Pennsylvania hardly anticipated that in general he would be other than subservient to the demands of their machine. Their eyes were somewhat opened, however, by the programme of desirable legislation outlined by Mr. Brumbaugh during his campaign for the Governorship. The principal items were three: A Child Labor Law, a Local Option Law, and a Workmen's Compensation Law.

Of these the Pennsylvania Legislature has now passed a Child Labor Bill; the lower house has passed a Workmen's Compensation Bill, but has defeated a Local Option Bill.

### CHILD LABOR

Of the three measures the Child Labor Bill is the one which has attracted special attention throughout the country, for the good reason that Pennsylvania employs more children under sixteen than does any other State in the Union. As a matter of fact, Pennsylvania employs more than twice the number employed in New York. Outside of the cotton-mill States of the South, Pennsylvania is practically the only manufacturing State that has failed to protect its children.

Again, the Pennsylvania industries in which children are employed are especially trying—the glass factories and the textile industries, employments in which extremes of heat must be endured and in which the dust-laden air conduces to tuberculosis. These industries made a tremendous but unsuccessful fight in the upper house of the Legislature to have the bill which passed in the lower house amended so as to permit children of fourteen to work, as now, ten hours in any one day.

The bill for which the Governor has already won the lower house provides for a week of fifty-one hours, and not more than nine hours in any one day. Where the edu-

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cational authorities provide a school for working children, eight of the fifty-one hours must be spent in such a school until the child is sixteen years of age—a feature which originated with the Governor.

The bill, while providing longer hours for children under sixteen than the forty-eight hours a week provided in the bill prepared by the National Child Labor Association, contains all the other excellent features of the Association's bill—a prohibition of night work for children, regulation of street trades, and rules against the employment of minors as messengers after nine o'clock in the evening.

With the bill is coupled the Governor's programme for vocational schools and for strengthening the compulsory educational law, so that a close watch shall be kept over all pupils until they are sixteen years old. At present the compulsory law is so poorly enforced that in some localities as many as a quarter of the total number of children leave school before the legal age of fourteen.

It is well in all reforms to begin with the child. It is well that Governor Brumbaugh commences the reform of redeeming his party in Pennsylvania from Penrose rule by beginning with the child, for the industries that thrive by child labor have been prominent members of the Penrose machine. That machine is now being further assailed by Governor Brumbaugh's attempted liquor, labor, housing, and highway reforms. Success to his elbow!

### HOW TO REACH AND UNITE THE FOREIGNERS RELIGIOUSLY

Now, as never before, men are realizing the necessity of making the foreigners within our gates more intelligent and more spiritually minded. Hence it is cheering to note the progress of the "American International Presbyterian Church" at Fourteenth Street and Second Avenue, New York City. Dr. Jonathan C. Day is its head pastor. Its work is certainly going a long way towards bringing into the Christian Church a peculiar and praiseworthy form of institutional work.

In this new International Church there are six deacons and six elders, the entire body being composed of two Russians, two Ruthenians, two Hungarians, two Italians, and four American or other exclusively English-speaking men. The deacons and elders meet together regularly and discuss, through interpreters if necessary, the needs of the neighborhood and of the church.

Every Sunday there are five preaching services in five languages, but all the people understand that, despite having assistant pastors who speak their particular language, the American International Presbyterian Church is one organization only. The Sunday Bible School, however, is carried on altogether in English, because the children of the Russians, Ruthenians, Hungarians, and Italians learn English in the public school, as well as in the school held every week night in the rooms of the church for the study of our language. The average attendance at the Sunday Bible School is about five hundred, which is also the average number for the attendance at the church service in English. The services in the other languages bring together upwards of fifty persons each.

The work of this church is especially interesting at the present time, since some of its foreign factions represent European nations now at war with each other.

At a recent communion service in the church a large number of foreign-born Americans participated. Among other races represented there were Russians and Hungarians. Dr. Day said to them: "Think of it! In Europe your brothers are fighting each other, and here you Russians and Hungarians are communing together." And they replied: "Yes, we are glad of it; this is best." This incident is not only a fair illustration of the spirit of this church, it ought to be an illustration of the spirit of America in international crises.

The new church was organized in the Labor Temple at Fourteenth Street and Second Avenue on February 15 of the present year. Already two hundred and ten persons have united with the church on profession of faith—a larger number on profession of faith than any other Presbyterian church in New York City can show in the same time. There have, of course, been others who have united by letters from Protestant denominations in widely contrasted regions of the world.

### LABOR AND THE CHURCH

The work of the old Labor Temple, however, of which Dr. Day has been and is the superintendent, has been by no means discontinued. It persists more strenuously than ever. To take one branch of its social activity, we note that last winter its Free Employment Bureau received some five

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thousand applications from those seeking work, and actually found places for about twenty-three hundred.

The church has also become a great forum for the discusssion of labor questions, especially at the meetings after the early service on Sunday evenings. The most striking feature of the past year has been the encounter with the Industrial Workers of the World under the direction of their energetic leader, Frank Tannenbaum, who came to the church asserting his well-known belief and theory that "might makes right." But Dr. Day handled the situation brought about by the Industrial Workers of the World in such a tactful way as to carry his point without serious conflict, allowing every opportunity and courtesy to his opponents in stating their case, but getting the better of the argument, as evidenced by the applause of the Industrial Workers of the World and the admission of their leader. A practical exemplification of the church's theory and belief that love, sympathy, and co-operation will work where the doctrine of "might makes right" does not was seen in the fact that from the first pinch of cold the unemployed were found sleeping on the cushions of the church pews and were fed and kept warm.

National attention should be drawn to the noble work of this church. It stands for what the Christian religion should stand—the gathering together of many hearts from many lands, the generous opportunity to protest given to those who think they have a grievance, sympathetic help and comfort to those who are oppressed, and the guidance of those who are in the wrong way into the right and divine way.

### AN APPRECIATION

The Rev. Dr. James Morris Whiton, who has been for many years a member of the staff of The Outlook, has recently celebrated his sixtieth wedding anniversary. He is a fine example of intellectual vitality in advanced age of men whose lives have been sustained by many interests and freshened by vigorous intellectual work.

Dr. Whiton, who has entered upon his eighty-third year, was a graduate in the famous class of 1853 at Yale University. He rowed bow in the first boat race between Yale and Harvard. He has been all his life an active, progressive preacher, teacher, and writer. He is a classical scholar of distinction; but his interest has been in the onward movement of the day rather than in the achievements of the past.

Dr. Holmes once said that it was perfectly safe to spoil a man after he was eighty; and Mr. John Bigelow, who died at the age of ninety-two, declared that a man could do anything he chose after he was ninety; by that time both his character and reputation were established. The associates of Dr. Whiton are glad of this opportunity of expressing frankly their appreciation of the high value of his work, its accuracy, intelligence, and prophetic quality. He is a man with a long past; but he is also a man of the future.

### SCULPTURE AND THE WAR

The other day the eminent sculptor Mr. Daniel Chester French asked his pupils to put into plaster what they thought of the war. The result is a singularly interesting exhibition at the Reinhardt Galleries, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York City, given under the auspices of the society called "Friends of the Young Artists."

It is impressive to note that the main impact of war on the minds of the young artists—who are mostly foreign-born—is pessimistic. Their impressions of war do not show us the glorification of armed conflict, but the ghastly results, not only on men, but especially on women and children. No one can look at the appealing mother and child by Gaston Nys which forms the frontispiece of the catalogue without poignantly realizing this. The gauntness, the devastation, the crucifixion of everything normal, sacred, holy, is everywhere present in this exhibition, and is varied only here and there by the virility and strenuousness of actual fighting. Possessed and absorbed by this feeling, the visitor to the exhibition forgets to criticise it as a technically sure or clear expression of art. While there is plenty to criticise adversely in this direction, at the same time it is the inner spirit which is the all-compelling thing—whether we see it showing war as brute force, as in the sculpture by Christian Petersen, whether we see it in all the grisly dreadfulness of the group by C. M. Lang, in the infinite pathos of the last farewell as sculptured by Jeanne Bertrand, or in the more sweeping and splendid, if more conventional, treatment of the soldier by James Vaccaro.

The exhibition deserves a visit. When has there been assembled a group of works

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more vividly expressing the thought of all of us to-day? Those of us who have actually seen the war or who have been close to it can realize the appeal of the young sculptors.

### TRUANCY: THE BOSTON PLAN

Individual treatment under normal conditions is the latest method of dealing with truants. This novel experiment, which is being worked out in the city of Boston, marks a significant forward step toward the solution of one of the most serious of educational problems.

The Boston "Parental School" for truants has been abolished and the two hundred and fifty inmates returned to home and school. Mr. George C. Minard, from his experience as superintendent of the truant school, is especially well qualified to take charge of these "pupils on probation." He is confident that most truants are the victims of "extraneous circumstances" and that very few are inherently bad. Sixty per cent of the boys at the Parental School were either whole or half orphans. Lack of proper care at home and physical or mental defection were found responsible for the large majority of cases. When such cases are placed in an institution, normal boys are subjected to conditions which are abnormal and to the influence of the few vicious truants.

Mr. Minard believes that every case of truancy is different from others, and he therefore deals with each one as an individual problem. A record of each truant's attendance, conduct, and scholarship—even his attitude toward authority—is kept by the supervisor. Each boy on probation must report periodically for consultation. His home is investigated, and parents and friends are interviewed. In this way the root of the trouble is often discovered—whether physical, mental, or temperamental—and the proper steps taken.

Children who do not get the right care at home are placed out. The boy who leaves school because he cannot get along in history, for instance, is recommended to an industrial school. Defectives and criminals, of which there are a few, are consigned to institutions. Most truants are placed in the disciplinary school, where the small classes of fifteen allow the individual study necessary. Free transportation and free noon lunches are offered those who need them. In most cases, after a few months of such treatment, the truant becomes a faithful attendant of his regular class.

The boy who runs away from school is, as a rule, not a criminal, but in need of the personal touch and individual study. The progress of the Boston plan will be watched with interest.

### QUARANTINE A NATIONAL AFFAIR

In the United States there are only two ports whose quarantine stations are managed by local and State authorities. These are Baltimore and New York, the latter the most important port in the Western Hemisphere, and more than all others the one port in America, it would seem, in which quarantine should be the subject of National control.

In 1892 the New York Academy of Medicine placed itself at the head of the movement to secure Federal quarantine for New York, and has been fighting with unflagging zeal for this cause since that time. Owing to the grave danger that the epidemics which are beginning to sweep over Europe will be brought to this country by the rush of immigration expected after the war, the Academy has begun to press the issue with renewed vigor, and recently held a meeting in New York City, at which ex-President Taft was the principal speaker, in favor of transferring the New York quarantine station to Federal supervision. Other prominent Americans who urged this measure by word or letter were Major-General William C. Gorgas; Miss Julia Lathrop, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor; Commissioner Daniels, of the Inter-State Commerce Commission; President Hibben, of Princeton University; Dr. Charles W. Eliot; Dr. Harvey W. Wiley; the health commissioners of a dozen or more American cities; and the New York Republican Club, which cheerfully urges that the quarantine post, indubitably a fat political plum, be transferred from the jurisdiction of a Republican State administration to the supervision of a Democratic National Administration.

No question has been raised concerning the qualifications of the present quarantine officer at New York, however. But, for social, administrative, and political reasons, modern maritime quarantine is a matter essentially National in character and importance.

For instance, as Dr. E. H. Lewinski-Corwin, of the New York Academy of Medicine, points out, "when New York quarantines vessels and passengers infected with malaria, it is not protecting the citizens of New York so much as those of the South."

The United States cannot guarantee the

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uniform observance of the international quarantine agreements to which it is a party unless all quarantine stations are under its control. Moreover, all the services relating to the administration of the Port of New York are under Federal control except quarantine, which is logically part of the immigration service.

Finally, it is not fair that New York should bear alone the expense of a health protection outpost whose services benefit every State in the Union.

### MAKING NEGRO LIVES COUNT

Hampton Institute has just taken a big step forward by having made for its educational and financial campaign, which is being successfully conducted throughout the Middle West, a set of motion pictures—"Making Negro Lives Count"—that shows vividly the disheartening conditions that still exist among Southern Negroes, and the means of bringing new life to the South through the general introduction of industrial training for Negro boys and girls.

Shabby cabins and ramshackle outbuildings, ill-kept fields with pigs, chickens, and ragged children galore, tell the story of neglected rural life among Negroes. The sad old mule and the ill-fed steer, dragging by the doorway where the Negro woman washes early and late for a mere pittance, give a true picture of every-day life in hundreds of communities. Street scenes peopled with many loafing Negroes show the need of getting black folks to work and build up country life.

The scene changes to Hampton Institute, where tradesmen, teachers, and community leaders are being trained. Boys are shown busy at their every-day work in the common trades (carpentry, bricklaying, and blacksmithing) and at farming, just plain farming—plowing, harvesting, and caring for stock. Girls are seen washing, ironing, sewing, cooking, weaving, and making gardens. They are being trained for home-making and schoolteaching. Farmers by the hundreds come to Hampton to learn how to do better plowing, to judge cattle, and grow better farm crops.

This film story of Southern black life, careless and backward, also shows what Hampton-trained Negroes do when they return home: clean up houses, back yards, and outbuildings; teach children to plant flowers, shrubs, and trees around newly painted or whitewashed fences and buildings; show the farmers how to make a better living and really love the land; make clean, attractive, Christian homes.

Industrial training and good citizenship go hand in hand. Nearly eight thousand Hampton graduates and former students, for example, have been quietly demonstrating the truth of this proposition for nearly fifty years.

### A TOUR OF LOUISIANA

In response to an invitation of prominent colored citizens of Louisiana to tour the State, Dr. Booker Washington, with a party of twenty-five educated colored men, recently visited and held meetings in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and other places. Negroes came on mule-back, in carriages, and in wagons, ten, twenty, even forty miles, to hear the most distinguished member of their race.

In Shreveport there was an audience of over ten thousand. It included not only colored citizens, but many white people as well. There Dr. Washington was introduced by ex-Governor Blanchard. The Mayor of the city was present also. To white and black alike ex-Governor Blanchard said: "Our country needs to have white and black people sober, honest, frugal, and thrifty. Booker Washington stands for these things. He advises and counsels and leads along these lines. Hear him and heed his words."

In New Orleans Mayor Behrman testified before a great audience that the colored people of the city in the battles which that city had waged successfully against disease had lent every bit of assistance that they could in the work.

At the railway stations where the party passed Negroes by the thousand gathered and welcomed their leader.

And wherever Dr. Washington went he preached his gospel of thrift, good feeling, industry, and use of present opportunities. He urged the Negroes to stay in the country, where the soil and the rain and the sun draw no color line. He urged his hearers not to live in a knapsack, but to settle down and to get property. He told them that for fifty years the white man had been carrying the Negro on his back and that he was getting tired. He bade them consider how they could use at home what they had learned at school. And he advised them not to talk about white people, but to talk to them, to make friends with them, and then not to be content with asking for money for schools,

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but to be willing to vote money for schools themselves.

In addressing the whites Dr. Washington spoke wisely, as he habitually does. He said that it was better to educate Negroes than to take care of criminals; that Louisiana paid too high a compliment to Negro children by assuming that a Negro child could get a satisfactory education by giving him only three or four months' schooling in the year; that the Nation hears too much about lynchings and racial difficulties and too little about the evidences of racial friendship and good will which exist in the majority of communities. And he added that Negroes imitated the white men closely, and that if white people break the law, drink, and gamble, then Negroes will break the law, drink, and gamble; but if white people are sober, law-abiding, and industrious, then Negroes will be much like them in those respects.

### PROGRESS AT SING SING

While Thomas Mott Osborne, Warden of Sing Sing, who introduced self-government among the inmates last December on taking charge of the institution, does not claim that his experiment has yet ceased to be an experiment, he is more encouraged than ever at the end of nearly five months under the new system to believe that it will solve the problem of prison discipline. The fact that there is some friction among the members of the Mutual Welfare League, the prisoners' organization, Mr. Osborne regards as a healthy sign, since it means that the men are beginning to rouse themselves from prison lethargy and to think and act of their own initiative.

Naturally, not all of the inmates of Sing Sing are pleased with existing conditions, because those who had been given special privileges under the old régime no longer enjoy them.

Fighting among the more turbulent of the prisoners is the offense most often committed in Sing Sing; and, while the prisoners' court always deals severely with this breach of the rules, one of the results of placing disciplinary powers in the hands of the self-elected officers of the League is that they have more than once assumed greater authority than it was intended they should exert, and have themselves inflicted physical punishment upon these offenders on the spot. It was difficult at first to make the men understand that they were unjustified in thrashing a man who had sought a quarrel with another and attempted to thrash him, and the judges were inclined to wink at such action. Warden Osborne, therefore, believes that a distinct improvement in the morale of the League was marked by the action of the prisoners' court early in April, when a very popular deputy sergeant-at-arms was removed from office and sentenced to fifteen days' loss of privileges, as punishment for having personally chastised an exceedingly unpopular and quarrelsome prisoner he had discovered in the act of assaulting another.

### SOME PRACTICAL RESULTS

That general conditions at Sing Sing have improved under Mr. Osborne's administration is shown by trustworthy reports that have reached The Outlook.

The use of drugs among the prisoners has practically ceased, and, while a few bottles of whisky were smuggled into the prison in April, the Warden was able to trace that phenomenon to a deliberate attempt on the part of outside enemies of the new system to create trouble. There are 300 members of a knitting class at Sing Sing, who have already sent more than 750 pieces of their work—sweaters, caps, scarfs, etc.—to the suffering women and children among the Poles. (Incidentally they knitted a complete worsted suit—cap, leggings, and coat—for the recently arrived son of Governor Whitman, which was accepted with a cordial letter of thanks that is now framed upon a wall of the knitting-class room.) Fifty prisoners are studying shorthand and thirty industrial drawing; there are ten members of a mandolin club; and a class of twenty is awaiting the installation of the instruments presented by the Western Union Company to take up the study of telegraphy. A class in clay-modeling is in prospect, and others in languages—French, Italian, Spanish, and German, in addition to those in English. The men not otherwise engaged in the evening are being taught chorus singing. Baseball, tennis, boxing, and other amusements are going on in the prison yard during recreation hours daily.

Mr. Osborne is encouraging the visits of educational societies to Sing Sing, not only for the humanizing effect upon visitors, but because it is calculated to have a like effect upon the prisoners. It so happened that the members of the School of Philanthropy

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and of the Women's League for Political Education chose the same afternoon for their visits, on which occasion 225 women, the largest number within the walls in the history of Sing Sing, were shown through the institution—not by guards, but by polite and attentive escorts in convict garb. And it is only three years ago that the then warden of the prison felt obliged to put a loaded pistol in his pocket when he went into the yard!

There is one unfortunate feature of the honor system in the prisons of the State as at present conducted. Sing Sing is practically a receiving and distributing prison; and, as its cells are filled and other prisoners arrive, it has been the practice to send men convicted as previous offenders to Dannemora, where the old-time rigid methods prevail. The unfortunate feature referred to is that men who are "making good" in the Mutual Welfare League in Sing Sing are likely, in ordinary circumstances, to be sent to the Clinton County prison at any time to relieve congestion in the other institution. Mr. Osborne believes that the old offenders in Dannemora are just as amenable to self-government as the inmates of the other prisons. Indeed, he wished to introduce the League methods there before making the experiment at Sing Sing. Superintendent of Prisons Riley, however, felt that the risk would be too great; and, as responsibility rested with the Superintendent, Mr. Osborne did not consider it at all strange that he declined to assume it, particularly as the new system has not yet got beyond the trial stage. Exception has to be made in the case of prisoners suffering with tuberculosis, for the State Hospital for Consumptives is a part of the institution in Clinton County; but Mr. Osborne is now endeavoring to arrange to send the overflow from his institution to Auburn and Great Meadow, and to accommodate some prisoners in a new dormitory he is constructing in the prison yard at Sing Sing.

Perhaps the most daring of all Mr. Osborne's experiments tending to prove the existence of a sense of honor among his brethren of the prisons is the one he told his audience in Cooper Union about at the meeting under the auspices of the New York Board of Education on the evening of April 17. On the occasion when the delegates of the Mutual Welfare League held their last election in the prison court-room, the count was not finished until after one o'clock in the morning. The Warden then invited the fifty-four delegates to his house; sent for his cook and butler, both of them also convicts, and served a light supper. The Warden's house, which has no bars on windows or doors, is outside the prison walls; there was no guard within a hundred feet of it; the New York Central Railroad tracks are just under the windows on one side, and the public highway on the other. After their repast the fifty-six prisoners, whose sentences ranged from a few years to life, returned quietly to their cells.

## THE ATTACK ON THE GULFLIGHT

Misunderstanding is at the bottom of most quarrels. There should be no misunderstanding between this country and Germany about the case of the Gulflight. Our Government can best perform its duty to the people of this country by coming to an understanding with Germany on this matter as speedily as possible. Germany and the United States may not agree, but Germany and the United States should clearly understand each other's position.

To that end the United States Government should without delay inform Germany—

That it regards the attack on the Gulflight as of great gravity.

That it is instituting a prompt and searching investigation of the facts.

That if the Gulflight was, as reported, attacked on the high seas by a German submarine without warning, with consequent loss of life, the United States will take the following position:

For such an attack the promise of money reparation is not sufficient. This is not a breach of international rules which can be settled, as in the case of the Frye, by the payment of damages. It is disregard of elementary international morals. It therefore cannot be made a matter of money.

For such an attack disavowal of intent to do injury to the United States is not sufficient. We are not suspicious of our neighbors, and we are willing to believe Germany if she says that she meant no harm to us. That, however, is not the point. The point is that the harm has been done to us, and has been done in such a way as to be an

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infringement of not only our rights but of human rights.

For such an attack the plea that it was due to accident or gross carelessness in mistaking a neutral merchantman for a belligerent merchantman is not sufficient. To attack without warning non-combatants, whether of a neutral or a belligerent nation, is not war; it is a crime. If done deliberately, it puts the combatant who does it on the plane of the pirate and the highwayman. It is a settled point of law that if a man undertakes to commit murder, but through mistaken identity kills another than his intended victim, he is not absolved from murder, but is guilty. He cannot plead that it was an accident or a blunder. The fact that a submarine commander intended to attack a belligerent merchantman unawares does not absolve him from crime if he attacks by mistake a neutral merchantman, for his original intent was criminal.

If, therefore, it proves to be true that the Gulflight was attacked by a German submarine, and as a consequence Americans lost their lives, the United States will not be satisfied with either a promise of indemnity, or a disavowal of intending injury to America, or a plea of accident or blunder. The United States will in that case be satisfied only with assurance from Germany that she will henceforth desist from attacking without warning and without full provision for safety of passengers and crews all merchantmen, whether neutral or belligerent, and accompany that assurance with satisfactory evidence that she will do as she says. If Germany declines to give such assurance and another such "accident" occurs, the United States will, without further notification, feel free to take such action as her safety, her interests, and the public law of nations may require.

Such a statement of the position of the United States can be phrased, we believe, with such courtesy that it need give no offense, but with such clearness that it can afford no chance of misunderstanding.

Our Government has been so obviously intent on maintaining peaceful and friendly relations with all nations that it is possible that other nations may take the view that our people are easy-going, timid, and incapable of resenting wrong. In such a view there is peril.

Our Government has been so ready during this war to overlook infringement of human rights, as in the case of Belgium, and so reluctant to protest on any matters that cannot be settled on a financial basis, that other nations may take the view that Americans are money-minded and ready to compromise any question for a fee. In that view there is peril.

We shall avoid peril, not invite it, by a full, frank, and prompt expression at this time of the real American spirit.

## A WARNING

The Republican leaders, at least in the Eastern States, do not seem to remember the lesson that was taught them with some severity and vividness in 1912. In that year a Democratic President was elected by a minority popular vote, because four million men who ordinarily voted the Republican ticket would not tolerate the reactionary or "stand-pat" leadership in the Republican party.

We agree with the Republican leaders that there is growing dissatisfaction with the Democratic Administration. But if they think that President Wilson, who without question will be the nominee of his party in 1916, can be beaten by any boss-made Republican candidate they are hopelessly mistaken.

It is with some of the policies and not with the personality of President Wilson that the country is dissatisfied. Under the severe test which is applied to any President, Mr. Wilson has proved himself to be a man of personal integrity, intellectual ability, and high ideals. Our criticism of him is based, not on his ideals, but on the fact that he has not put these ideals into practice with effectiveness or consistency. But he can be beaten only by a man who has equally high ideals, and who can convince the country that he will more effectively translate ideals into deeds. Stand-patism and reaction will no more succeed in 1916 than they did in 1912, although some of the Republican leaders appear to think they will.

Is this an unjust statement? If so, why has Senator Penrose been proclaimed as a Presidential candidate at a machine Republican dinner in Pennsylvania; or why has the Republican majority in the New York Legislature adopted "steam-roller methods" of legislation that have already thrown large numbers of progressive Republicans into open revolt; or why has Senator Root—the ablest, most distinguished, and most representative Republican leader of the time—as Chairman of the Constitutional Convention

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of New York, appointed the already discredited William Barnes as chairman of the important Committee on Legislation, and Martin Saxe, a typical machine Republican, chairman of the important Committee on Taxation? In view of the revelations at Syracuse we wonder why Mr. Root did not put Mr. Barnes in charge of the printing and stationery of the Constitutional Convention. He appears to be an expert in printing contracts.

The fact that men like Mr. Wickersham, late Republican Attorney-General, and Mr. Stimson, late Republican Secretary of War, are also chairmen of important committees in the Convention cannot offset the Barnes appointment. It seems as if Senator Root deliberately intended to notify the country by the appointment of Mr. Barnes that Old Guardism and reaction are still elements approved of by the National leaders. The Republican party will be beaten in 1916—and will deserve to be beaten—if it nominates a man who has been tainted in the Barnes-Penrose-Lorimer school of politics. Senator Root may think that the Progressive Party is dead. Perhaps it is. But the progressive voter is still very much alive.

## THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE BOSSES

It did not require a suit at law to establish the fact that Theodore Roosevelt has worked with the Republican machine and with Republican bosses. He ought to have worked with them; he has worked with them; and he has openly and habitually affirmed the fact.

Whoever works with an organization must work in co-operation with the representatives of the organization, whether he likes them or dislikes them, approves them or disapproves them, believes in them or disbelieves in them. The bishop must work with the priests and the priests with the bishop; the railway president must work with the division superintendents and the division superintendents with the president; the principal must work with the teachers and the teachers with the principal. The bishop may think the priest too broad, the priest may think the bishop too narrow, the president may think the superintendent incompetent, the superintendent may think the president a martinet, the principal may dislike the teacher and the teacher may hate the principal; none the less, so long as they belong to the same organization they must work together.

No man can be an organization man and a free lance at the same time.

The Constitution requires the President to act with the advice and consent of the Senate. In doing so he must act in conference with the Senators whom the States select to represent them—with Lorimer from Illinois, Penrose from Pennsylvania, Platt from New York. As he must confer with whatever ambassador any foreign country sends as its representative, whatever may be the manners or the morals of the ambassador, so he must counsel with whatever Senator the State sends as its representative, whatever he may think of the morals or manners of the Senator.

For precisely the same reason and in precisely the same manner the official head of a political party—whether Mayor, Governor, or President—must act with the party organization and with the men whom the party organization chooses as its representatives. Democracy necessitates parties; parties cannot act without organization; the organization cannot act without representatives. If the official head of the party is to act at all, he must act in co-operation with his organization and in consultation with its representatives. He must either do that or break away from his party; and that means that he must form a new party with a new organization and new representatives.

The dust with which ingenious lawyers at Syracuse are attempting to befog the issue in the case of Barnes vs. Roosevelt will not befuddle the American people, and we do not think it will befuddle the jury. The question is not, Did Mr. Roosevelt work with Platt and Barnes? No one doubts that he did. The question is, Did he work with them to promote the public welfare or to promote private interests?

Mr. Barnes endeavored to get Mr. Roosevelt's influence against the organization of a State Printing Bureau because he wanted to keep the State printing in his own establishment. He failed. Mr. Platt wanted Mr. Roosevelt to reappoint Mr. Payn Superintendent of Insurance. Mr. Roosevelt refused. To get the Senate to confirm the appointment of a man in whom he had confidence he selected three such men from the Republican organization, and allowed Mr. Platt to choose one of the three. He succeeded, because Mr. Platt could not have rejected all three without

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getting into difficulty with his own organization.

It does not require any extraordinary political sagacity to see the difference in these two kinds of co-operation, and in the motives and purposes of these two men.

Whether Mr. Roosevelt has libeled Mr. Barnes is a question we leave the jury to decide. But the question whether it was corrupt for Mr. Roosevelt to use the political machine and the political boss to promote the public welfare is not a question at all, however much Mr. Barnes and his allies, the political Pharisees, desire to make it a question.

## THE LESSON OF ASCENSION DAY

In a New England burial-ground is a century-old lament of Christian parents at the grave of their daughter. The stone, topped with an effigy of a weeping willow and the motto, "Memento Mori," bears beneath its record of the departed life these hopeless lines:

> "The die is cast. My hope, my fear,
> My joy, my pain, lie buried here.
> And, reader, you erelong must try
> This dreaded change as well as I.
> Nor can a courteous ghost reveal
> What I have felt and you must feel."

This bereaved father was a deacon of the village church.

The Puritan pastors of the old New England churches drew their sermons more from Old Testament texts than from the New, in which life and immortality were first brought to light. Christian hymns still sung in churches represent the faithful dead as sleeping in the grave, as waiting in some intermediate state for the resurrection call of "the last trump."

Even Christ's Apostles, as their sermons and letters show, long thought of him alone as risen above the underworld of the dead with its prison and its paradise—

> "that still garden of the souls,
> Where many a figured leaf enrolls
> The total world since Time began."

Peter thought of him, not as having risen to heaven from the cross, but as in that underworld till the third day, preaching to "the spirits in prison." Forty days were required to show his disciples after his successive reappearances and vanishings, culminating in his final disappearance upward, what resurrection really is—the rising up of the spirit into a higher world. Of this great reality Ascension Day is the abiding memorial, as Easter is of the first of Ascension Day's preparatory lessons to minds obsessed with the traditional belief of centuries in an underground waiting-room for "the last day" and the resurrection trumpet.

*Look up!* is the Ascension call to these downcast eyes and thoughts. Lift up your hearts with theirs who saw their beloved Master leaving them to face a hostile world. Thenceforth their thought of him in the glory of his heavenly life glorified every place of his earthly companionship with the presence of the promised Comforter.

Like men who intellectually believe the heliocentric astronomy of Copernicus, but practically retain the geocentric ideas of Ptolemy, are many believers in the resurrection of Christ, to whom it has practically become "a dead fact stranded on the shore of the oblivious years." How can it regain for them the uplifting power it gave its eye-witnesses? Not otherwise than as they live themselves into it anew, endeavoring, like Paul, to "know the power of his resurrection" to raise the believer's thought from the earthly to the heavenly life.

Bereavement itself naturally prompts to this, even while we pay nature's debt of tears. This is no small part of the divine intent. It works through the unbroken human sympathies that unite the earthly and the heavenly friend. One of the stanzas of "In Memoriam" describes its effect upon the circle round the Christmas hearth that sang with dim eyes as they remembered "a merry song we sang with him last year."

> "Our voices took a higher range;
> Once more we sang: 'They do not die,
> Nor lose their mortal sympathy,
> Nor change to us, although they change
> Rapt from the fickle and the frail,
> With gathered power, yet the same.'"

How is this higher range of thought to become habitual? The preparatory forty days from Easter to the Ascension that were necessary for the bereaved disciples have their modern analogy in the case of the sorrow-stricken. Our thought of friends gone into far foreign lands goes with them. We share their new feelings, their new interests, though we know not what they do from

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day to day. We rejoice with their rejoicing in release from grinding toil and fretting cares, and they with ours in the home that they have left. So should thought follow the beloved who have gone beyond the mortal boundary. A common interest in the kingdom of God unites us still. They and we together look up to the Father of all. Thus must disconsolate hearts school themselves to learn the lesson of the promised Comforter, the lesson of Ascension Day, the transference of bereaved affection from the past to the present and the future, from mortal to immortal joy.

# THE BARNES-ROOSEVELT SUIT

## A POLL OF THE PRESS

A MONTANA paper, the Missoula "Missoulian" (Prog.), chronicles the fact that "Theodore Roosevelt is now having the first bit of political luck to come his way in over two years," and adds:

To be sued by Boss Barnes for $50,000 damages in a libel suit cannot be accounted anything but good luck to a man so well able as Roosevelt to make friends on the strength of his enemies.

Neither in the answer filed nor in his testimony on the witness stand has the Colonel retraced one step from the position he took last July, when he issued the statement forming the basis for Barnes's present suit, and in which Roosevelt said: "The interests of Mr. Barnes and Mr. Murphy are fundamentally identical, and when the issue between popular rights and corrupt and machine-ruled government is clearly drawn, the two bosses will always be found fighting on the same side, openly or covertly giving one another such support as can with safety be rendered. These bosses do not hold public offices which they control. Yet they really form the all-powerful invisible government which is responsible for the administration and corruption in the public offices of the State."

In its best Northwesternese the Sault St. Marie "News" (Prog.) says that "Barnes has given the Colonel the chance of the past two years, and the famous resident of Oyster Bay is eating this chance alive." The Michigan paper continues:

Those who are writing the trial tell us the Colonel hasn't missed a trick yet, and that he does not propose to do so.

No disparagement of Mr. Ivins is intended, but the Colonel is toying with this famous lawyer—in the merriest sort of mood—as the cat does with the mouse. We do not guess this. We have Mr. Ivins's word for it, for has he not objected to being treated "as a mass-meeting"? Bless you, sir, you are merely a victim of the worst "bonehead" Barnes has been credited with in his entire political career, and in the meantime one T. Roosevelt is giving to the public a clever movie of how to enjoy life even at some one else's expense.

When John Wilkinson gave the name to Syracuse a hundred years ago, because of its likeness to ancient Syracuse, remarks the Washington "Herald" (Ind.), he little thought that here would be fought out a great legal battle in which Greek met Greek; and when De Witt Clinton built the Erie Canal he had no premonition that upon its banks would be argued at length his great policy: "To the victor belongs the spoils." The "Herald" further remarks:

When Justice Andrews, Colonel Roosevelt, and Mr. Barnes were studying at Harvard, they dreamed not that in after years one of them would sit in judgment on the other two. But these things have come about, and the political battle of a generation is going on in Syracuse and near the place where Thurlow Weed published his first newspaper.

What is this battle? Nominally, a libel suit, but really a test of the principles that have governed the political parties of New York State for a century. Who are the contending forces? William Barnes, Jr., and Theodore Roosevelt, foremost citizens, educated in the first university of the land, who by heredity and environment ought to be the examples for thousands of their fellow-citizens. What was the primary cause of the battle? Political supremacy in State and Nation, and nothing else. In politics both parties were reared in the same school, both followed its teachings; the commanding position held by both makes the affair one of National importance, and the question naturally arises, Why did these foremost citizens allow themselves to be drawn into this struggle?

### MR. ROOSEVELT'S PERSONALITY

The "Herald" continues:

Theodore Roosevelt is a man *sui generis* in American life. As a farmer, a ranchman, a hunt-

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er, an author, he would hold first rank. He was a success in the Legislature, in the civil service, in the Police Department; he was a success as Governor, as Vice-President and President, and was ever a soldier and warrior. But, like some other great men of history, he is the victim of his own consuming ambition, and an insatiable desire to be always in the National spotlight.

Commenting on this attributed quality, the Anaconda "Standard" (Ind. Dem.) thinks that "the Colonel has reached a stage in his career where he experiences difficulty in keeping himself prominently before all of the country all of the time. But Mr. Barnes helps some."

He has helped so much that, as the Brooklyn "Citizen" (Dem.) admits, the European war has been thrown into the background ever since Mr. Roosevelt took the stand. The "Citizen" proceeds to accentuate the fact:

This is, we may here remark, the more remarkable since there has not at any stage of the examination been any reason for expecting any disclosure of large significance. All along it has been assumed that the examination of the President would proceed along lines that had in other ways been made familiar to the public, and this is what has taken place. That what may thus be called a twice-told tale has sufficed to absorb the attention of the public cannot but be regarded as a wonderful tribute to the personality of the person chiefly affected.

There is evidently that in Mr. Roosevelt which operates with fascinating effect upon large numbers of his fellow-citizens, despite all that has occurred to deliver them from what was at one time an almost servile subordination to his influence. Had Mr. Roosevelt been an ordinary individual, it would have been quite impossible to hold public attention with any such repetition of familiar talk as he has treated the judge and jury to for the past week.

That there was nothing new to tell was declared by men well informed before the trial opened, and for this reason the belief was expressed that the public would find the proceedings dull; but, while the first prediction has been abundantly borne out, the second, namely, that the proceedings would be dull, has miscarried.

Another influential Democratic organ, the Columbia "State," thus attempts to explain:

Theodore Roosevelt has been variously and picturesquely described. May we attempt the impossible by adding that he is a man of calculated folly? . . . And that Mr. Roosevelt is anything except a fool?

A Republican paper, the Peoria "Transcript," finds in Mr. Roosevelt not only "the most astute psychologist in the country," but also one whose methods "differ from those of the garden variety of politician in that they are open and overwhelming." The "Transcript" proceeds:

A man who talks and writes constantly is always in position to ask a new question while his critics are pondering over an old one. . . .

The man of few words may make fewer mistakes, but he always is suspected by the public with having something to conceal. We feel as if we knew all that Roosevelt knows. The Colonel has sounded all the depths and shoals of Voltaire's dictum that men "employ speech only to conceal their thoughts."

He defies analysis by overwhelming it.

The Sioux Falls "Press" (Ind.) continues this refrain:

The Colonel's dynamic personality absolutely dominates the court-room, say the correspondents. The cleverest, trickiest cross-examination lawyer that ever bullied a witness on the stand is constantly on the defensive as he bombards the ex-President with insinuating questions. It is all the Court can do to restrain the applause of the spectators.

And then the Minneapolis "Journal" (Rep.):

Mr. Ivins, outlining Mr. Barnes's case to the jury, described Colonel Roosevelt as the greatest intellectual force in America, the intimation being that on that account the greater is the libel. But what Colonel Roosevelt himself evinces upon the stand is that he is a most forceful personality.

On examination and cross-examination he shows how quick is his mind, how adroit, how capable. As an intellectual exhibition it is a great show. But there is something other than either force of intellect or force of character. It is force of personality. The Roosevelt personality fills that room in Syracuse and bursts out upon all the land. What is this thing or attribute or quality which we style personality? . . .

As soon as he gets into action, talks, laughs, gesticulates, electric power radiates from him in all directions, and he dominates, beats down, becomes a character, a personality that throws every other into the shade. He wouldn't have been overshadowed by the greatest man. . . .

This personality of Roosevelt, which dazzles his own time, will be a riddle to the future. The future will see him in some respects better than we do. It will recognize, as we do not, that Roosevelt is very near "a Southern gentleman" in temperament, in everything except his principles. He derives much more from his Georgian mother than from his Knickerbocker father, although his ideas and ideals are wholly of the North.

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Temperament from the South, principles from New England, manners from the West—how will that do for a formula to express Roosevelt?

MR. ROOSEVELT'S TESTIMONY

Thus, according to the Toledo "Blade" (Rep.), "Colonel Roosevelt is a good witness for the news associations."

But what has been the impression on the public mind of his testimony? Pitiful, if we may believe the Providence "Tribune" (Ind.), as it notes that this "fiery foe of bosses" recognized as the supreme head of the legislative department of the Government of New York Thomas C. Platt, a man who was not a member of the Legislature, and was charged by the people with no trust in connection with it. The Providence paper concludes:

There could hardly be a clearer case of "invisible government." And Mr. Roosevelt submitted and consented to it because he did not wish to "break with the organization," and did wish to "get things done."

Nevertheless, it is not forgotten that Mr. Roosevelt's successor in the New York Governorship, Charles E. Hughes, broke with the organization and still got things done. Moreover, he was renominated against the will of the organization and re-elected, and his plurality was four times that of Roosevelt in 1898.

There never was a man in high office who could not make the same defense that Mr. Roosevelt makes for keeping in with "the organization," otherwise known as the machine. There is always the fear of splitting the party and of failing to get "affirmative action for good."

The people have listened to these arguments to the point of weariness and disgust.

The New York "World" (Dem.), an inveterate opponent of Mr. Roosevelt that has carried its political opposition to the extreme of personal animosity, has constructed from Mr. Roosevelt's testimony the following definitions:

Boss: A political leader opposed to Roosevelt.

Leader: A political boss in favor of Roosevelt.

Substantial Justice: Anything done by Roosevelt.

Jekyll-Hyde: A dual character, Jekyll supporting Roosevelt, Hyde opposing him.

Y. M. C. A. Fund: Contributions of corporations to a Roosevelt campaign.

Barnes: An incorrigible person beyond the means of salvation.

Testimony: A stump speech by Roosevelt addressed to a jury.

Root of Righteousness: Belief in Roosevelt; the quality of being Rooseveltian.

Liar: A person who says anything in contradiction to Roosevelt.

George W. Perkins: An angel.

Invisible Government: An anti-Roosevelt combination; a bi-partisan arrangement, long existent, but not an issue until recently.

Penrose: ! ! ! — — ! ! ! * * * ? ? ? * * ! ! ! — ! ! !

The New York "Evening Post" (Ind.), another newspaper that has been bitterly personal in its opposition to Mr. Roosevelt, ascribes the following theory to him:

It is that he was throughout working for "righteousness," but that, as a practical man, he had to use whatever tools lay to his hand. He was always sure that he had a spoon long enough to sup with the devil, and he would never hesitate to do business with one thoroughly evil, provided that, in the end, the triumph of righteousness shone forth like the sun. But in asking us to believe this Mr. Roosevelt is really asking too much. He is trying to project backwards to 1899 the glamour of 1912. In the latter year his head was surrounded—without any violent resistance on his part—with a kind of anti-boss halo. And he would have us think that he was entitled to wear it in 1899.

In Billy Sundayish language the Binghamton "Press" (Ind.) condenses the above:

We can understand that in 1899, being only a rough soldier, the Colonel was shocked at the very idea of a bi-partisan combination, but why did it take him so many years to hit the sawdust trail of political repentance?

The Richmond "Times-Despatch" (Dem.) presents a Southern Democratic view:

Whenever a man becomes sufficiently convinced that he is purer and wiser than everybody who ventures to disagree with him, and that all opposition to his success is leagued with the hosts of darkness, it is easy for him to reconcile his conscience to that process known as "fighting the devil with fire."

That's Roosevelt. It matters not at all that his devil is of his own creation, fashioned of rags and drug-store brimstone.

On the other hand, the Kansas City "Times" (Prog.) declares:

Mr. Barnes and his counsel seem to think they can put something shameful on Mr. Roosevelt by proving, if they can, that Mr. Roosevelt was once friendly with Barnes. Wouldn't you hate to have that opinion of yourself?

The Leavenworth "Times" (Rep.) thinks:

Really, the showing of bossism made in the

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Roosevelt trial at Syracuse isn't anything so terrible. It wasn't too bad for Roosevelt to submit to when he was a candidate for Governor—and the Colonel was pretty particular, too. He agreed to consult with Platt, but wasn't even asked to agree to allow Platt to dictate. Is there anything wrong in an officer consulting with the leaders of his party who are expected to put him over?

Another Kansas Republican paper, the Topeka "Capital," finds the following:

Colonel Roosevelt's repute was in no wise damaged by the long cross-examination under Lawyer Ivins, running over a period of nearly a week. The relations between himself and Platt were shown to be politically close and constant, but oftener than not Platt's desires were overruled and recommendations turned down. As for Barnes, it does not appear that he had any influence over T. R. at any time. The failure of the attempt to show Roosevelt as Governor under Platt's thumb has been complete in this cross-examination, which entirely accords with the known fact that Platt tried to ditch the Colonel by making him Vice-President.

An Independent Democratic newspaper, the New York "Times," which has often been sharply critical of Mr. Roosevelt, sums up thus:

Theodore Roosevelt walked arm in arm with the bosses and he got on famously with the organization. He was on exceedingly good terms with Platt, Hess, Barnes, Quay, Quigg, and others of that calling. Mr. Roosevelt—until 1912—was a straight party man. He believed in the organization and worked with it. Conferences with bosses, whether in the form of a breakfast with Mr. Platt of a Sunday morning or in the executive chamber, were with him a part of political business. It was always for righteousness, always that substantial justice might be done. The machine did not use him, he used the machine.

It all depends on the man, therefore, not on the machine. Bosses and machines are pretty much the same from year to year. They are not wholly bad, not altogether good. When they get a small man elected to an office of power and patronage, they use him. They make him consent to perform acts for selfish ends, the ends of party or of persons, oftentimes against the public interest. Sometimes, unfortunately, they make him an accomplice in corruption. But a man who has the physical backbone and the moral courage to tell the machine to go to thunder, as Mr. Hughes did, or the man who is big enough and strong enough to take the machine into camp, as Mr. Roosevelt did, and make it work for righteousness and substantial justice, cannot be hurt in reputation and not often in fortune by organizations or their chiefs.

# FINE THINGS IN WAR

WAR is not all hatred, cruelty, cowardice, and selfishness. These things it brings out in human nature, but it also reveals, with a clearness that peace seldom does, the finer qualities of man—kindness, mercy, courage, and self-sacrifice. War is the acid test of character.

A few weeks ago The Outlook published a suggestion of Professor Conrad Matschoss, of Charlottenburg, Germany, who said, in a letter to Professor Joseph W. Roe, of Yale University: "If all the fine things which can be told about the different warring nations could be gathered and systematically placed before the public, how much good might be accomplished for that ultimate understanding which, after all, cannot indefinitely be deferred." The editors of The Outlook liked the suggestion of Professor Matschoss. Believing that in war, as in peace, the tendency of the press is to exploit the gruesome and horrible, the editors asked the readers of The Outlook to send in any records and incidents of the fine things of this war which might come to their notice through personal letters or responsible newspaper items. The many letters that we have received in response to this request are evidence that the idea of Professor Matschoss appealed to our readers. We herewith publish a few of the more noteworthy incidents that have been called to our attention.

A Cheshire man who was wounded at the battle of Mons, in a letter published in the "Hawaiian Church Chronicle," tells of the heroism of a German officer. Mortally wounded, the German beckoned to an ambulance man and pointed to his own water flask. It was raised to his lips, but with a "*Nein, nein*," the German insisted that it be given to an injured Englishman, a friend of the man who relates the story. A few minutes later the German died.

"We buried that noble German," says the writer, "with all the honors we could, and, though we did not know his name, we placed

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over his grave a little wooden cross with this simple inscription, 'A 1.'"

The Germans are no whit less ready in their appreciation of noble deeds than the British, the French, or the Russians. Near one of the passes in the Vosges Mountains is a large grave surmounted by a cross bearing the following inscription: "Here rest in God nine Frenchmen, who fell August 25, 1914. Dedicated by German comrades."

An American woman who was in Wiesbaden, Germany, during the early days of the war, when a number of wounded French prisoners were brought in, has translated for The Outlook a letter which a German mother wrote to the mother of one of these prisoners after his death. The German woman had never seen the French woman, but the common sympathy of motherhood moved her to write. After telling of the last days of the boy's illness and of his painless death, the kind-hearted German woman says:

You may rest assured, dear madam, that your dear son was nursed most tenderly and that nothing was neglected to save his young life. This may be some comfort for you and your husband in your great sorrow. . . . Your son died a hero for his country, and lies buried in foreign, though consecrated, ground. . . .

His funeral took place on Tuesday, September 1, during the tolling of the Cathedral bells. He received all military honors. Our two war societies (*Kriegervereine*), with their flags veiled in crape, acted as guards of honor. A blue sky looked down upon the open grave as the three salutes were given. May he rest in peace!

Inclosed you will find several branches of the laurel wreath the war societies placed on the grave, as well as several clippings from our papers. You will see by them how your dear son was honored while given his last resting-place. He is buried in the new churchyard of our city. His grave is marked I.

Dear madam, I was told that the seriously wounded young Frenchman wanted, above all, to see his mother again! This went to my heart, and I determined to write his poor mother at once and tell her all I could find out about the young soldier. For I, too, dear madam, have an only son, who, full of enthusiasm, answered his Kaiser's call, and since August 22 we are without any news concerning him.

This letter, I hope, may comfort you and your family somewhat in your great sorrow. Accept, dear madam, the sincere and heartfelt sympathy of a mother who feels with you.

A GERMAN MOTHER.

Wiesbaden, Germany,
September 20, 1914.

As noble as this German woman's letter in its thoughtfulness for the human feelings of others, even when circumstances have made them "the enemy," is this letter of a German surgeon to the widow of Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu, son of the well-known economist Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, and a member of the French Parliament. This letter was translated for American readers by a foreign correspondent of the Associated Press:

*Madam:* It is with the expression of deepest sympathy that I inform you that your husband, captain of a group of reservists of the ——th Regiment Artillery, died day before yesterday in my hospital, of a wound in the head. As was reported to me, he was wounded while fighting with the bravery of a hero. After all his gunners had fallen he himself served his piece; when he was finally obliged to cease firing, he continued to defend himself with his revolver until struck by a bullet in the temple, which affected his right eye.

He was wounded January 13. The wound was so grave that he immediately lost consciousness and did not recover his senses before his death, which was peaceful and painless.

The burial took place to-day in our military cemetery with military honors and in the presence of German officers as well as soldiers.

The tomb has been marked by a cross identified by the number 75. The benediction was pronounced by a Catholic priest of our army division. I bow humbly and full of admiration before the valor of this comrade fighting heroically to the last extremity for his Fatherland.

It is painful to me that our medical science, which did everything it could, was unable to save such a precious life for his dear ones.

May God console you and your children!

DR. GEISSLER,
Chief Surgeon Ambulance No. 3,
Third German Army Corps.

Cruelty to prisoners and the wounded of the enemy is one of the commonest outrages reported during this war. Here are a few incidents proving that there is another side to the shield:

A German soldier wrote to his mother: "I was wounded and carried to a place where medical treatment was provided. Friends and enemies rested next to each other. A French officer was on my side. Later we were all taken to a field hospital. The Frenchman is a very nice fellow and speaks a broken German. When I presented him with a cigar and chocolate out of your remittance, he asked me to let him add a few words to my letter when I would write."

The French officer wrote as follows:

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"Madam: Excuse the German of a Frenchman. Your son saved my life. The men of the hospital corps had let me rest on the ground, believing I was dead, and I was unable to move. When I regained consciousness, I found myself in a field hospital, due to the aid of your son. Many thanks for cigars and chocolate.

"Your humble servant,
"FRANÇOIS DUFUR."

A French paper, "L'Éclaireur Unioniste," tells the story of Gaston Wencelius, who gave up his bed in a French ambulance to a wounded German soldier, despite the fact that he himself was so seriously hurt that he died eight days later at Nancy. And the London "Times" recently published a long letter from Major P. G. Petavel, of the Duke of Cornwall's light infantry, who was moved to write from a German prison of the kindness of the Prussians to their prisoners, because "I have read in English newspapers so many communications of soldiers whose reports are inexact, and . . . who tell of German 'atrocities' which they know only from hearsay . . . that I believe that a recital of my experience, free from personal prejudice and hearsay, would be of interest."

Of similar import is this extract from a letter sent by Corporal Holmes, R.A.M.C., to his wife at Newton Heath, England, and published in part in the London "Answers:"

One incident we witnessed was very pathetic, and makes it hard to believe the Huns are committing the crimes put down to them.

We were attending to some of our Tommies when we came across a German rendering first aid to one of our soldiers. You can imagine we were surprised. We put the wounded soldier on our stretcher, and the German assisted us and came back to the hospital.

On arriving, he asked the doctor if the Tommy was all right, and, on the doctor telling him that such was the case, he said he was very glad.

One of our officers standing by asked the German why he took such an interest in one of his enemies. To this the German replied:

"He may be an enemy of my country, but he is my friend. He and I worked together for more than fourteen years in London, and many happy hours have we spent together. I hope that when this war—which we do not agree with—is over, he will not forget that we are still friends."

Gustave Hervé, in a French paper, "La Guerre Sociale," tells of a wounded German on whose *capote*, when lifted from the battlefield by French ambulance men, was found the following illuminating note, pinned there and signed by a French major: "Prisoner, to be treated as a friend. He threw himself into the water at the risk of his life and saved seven of ours who were drowning in the Yser."

Among the peoples of neutral countries as well as among the citizens of the Allies condemnation of the German Government for sanctioning submarine attacks on merchant vessels has been unsparing. However barbarous this German policy may be considered, there is nevertheless evidence that in enforcing it the crews of several German submarines have acted with as much courtesy and kindness as circumstances permitted. Captain Martin, of the British steamer Hartdale, testified, according to the London "Times," that the crew of the German under-sea boat that sunk his ship "acted very kindly towards us." Likewise, in an interview with a correspondent of the New York "Tribune," Captain Malley, of the British liner Andalusian, which was torpedoed by the famous U-29, in charge of Captain Weddigen, said:

"I was the last to leave my ship. . . . The captain of the submarine took me aboard and down into his cabin, and we sat there over cigars and port, while the crew of the submarine opened the injector valve of the Andalusian and set her afire. . . . He was very courteous to us, and I tried to be as courteous to him, but took the opportunity of telling him as politely as I could what I thought of German policy toward merchant shipping. He said: 'It's our duty, but at the same time we don't want to take civilian lives. It's ships we want.'"

One of the most interesting and at the same time one of the most inspiring examples of the spirit of international brotherhood that has come to our attention is the work which the Brotherhood of St. Paul, of Alton, Hampshire, England, is doing for German and Austrian merchant sailormen captured in the war. Under the leadership of Father Charles P. Hopkins, head of the organization, who has devoted his life to alleviating the hardships of men who follow the sea, a camp has been established at Alton for these nautical prisoners of war. The prisoners do their own chores, cooking, washing, chopping wood, etc., and, although their camp is within a few miles of Aldershot and close to a railway over which military trains are constantly passing, there is no special police, no guard is posted, and the local

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police alone supervise the two hundred marooned seamen.

We close this short compilation of the things that constitute the brighter side of war with the following excerpt from a letter from the war zone in France, as amusing in its revelation of the French private soldier's sense of humor as it is inspiring in its portrayal of the grim justice and humanity basic in soldier character :

Somewhere in the north [name deleted by censor] the Boches (the French soldier's colloquial epithet for Germans) rushed a French trench, and just as it looked as if they'd make good the French supports arrived with a yell and made short work of them. One fat Boche was left, an old fellow. Baldheaded and blinking behind great thick goggles, he stood grasping his gun by the barrel, prepared to sell his life dearly. A Frenchman was about to run his bayonet into him when another Frenchman tackled the Boche and brought him down.

Well, they got behind cover, and something about the old Boche appealed to the sons of Gaul. "He had such a droll manner," said one of them. So they asked him his name, which was Rudolph—the rest of it was even funnier than he looked.

Well, they laughed, and one said, "Ah, well, my old Rudolph, you're a brave type; now return to your comrades and tell them that we know a brave soldier when we see one." Our hero, very much surprised and perhaps fearing a joke—such as getting shot in the back—hesitated; so a Frenchman gave him a flat-footed kick, saying, "Go ahead, you'll not be hurt." Rudolph lifts his hands above his head and goes back to his comrades. Fresh French troops arrive, and are told all about Rudolph. So the next day, when things had quieted down, they shouted to know if Rudolph was still alive, and a voice said, "Ja, ja."

So the French cried out, "Well, then, Rudolph, show yourself. There are newcomers here who, learning of your colossal courage, want to see you."

So up bobs our hero, and, grinning behind those porthole goggles of his, he takes off his helmet, pats his bald head, and bows, and the French give him three cheers, after which one of them remarks, "I hope that we do not kill him, for he's a brave type, that old Rudolph."

# THE STORY OF THE WAR

## BY GREGORY MASON

THE detonation of a torpedo against the bluff bow of the American tank steamer Gulflight, lumbering through a calm, haze-covered sea off the Scilly Islands, was, from an American point of view, the momentous event of the week April 28 to May 5.

The Gulflight was *en route* from Port Arthur, Texas, to Rouen, France, when struck by the under-water missile. In her hold were fifty thousand barrels of gasoline, perhaps intended as fuel for General Joffre's horseless war chariots. The vessel did not sink, and was towed into Crow Sound, Scilly Islands, with her cargo apparently undamaged, after a British patrol boat had removed her crew, with the exception of her American wireless operator and a Spanish seaman, who jumped overboard at the shock of the explosion and were drowned. The Gulflight's American captain died of heart failure on the patrol boat. These three casualties were the only ones.

As this is written there has come to light no direct evidence as to the nationality of the vessel that launched the explosive "tin fish" against the Gulflight. A few minutes before the explosion officers of the American steamer saw a submarine far off in the murk ahead of them, but they could not determine its nationality then, and they never saw it again. However, in view of Germany's record, in view of the fact that she has already sunk neutral ships, and in view of her announcement that she might sink neutral vessels without warning, the presumption universally accepted in America that a German submarine attacked the Gulflight is justified.

It is to be hoped that the Gulflight case will be amicably and honorably settled, but it is certainly the most serious incident that has arisen between the United States and a belligerent since the outbreak of the war. It was contrary to international law that there was no warning given to the Gulflight, that her papers were not examined, and that her crew was not removed before the attempt was made to sink her. It is this consideration that makes the case of the Gulflight so much graver than the case of the Frye.

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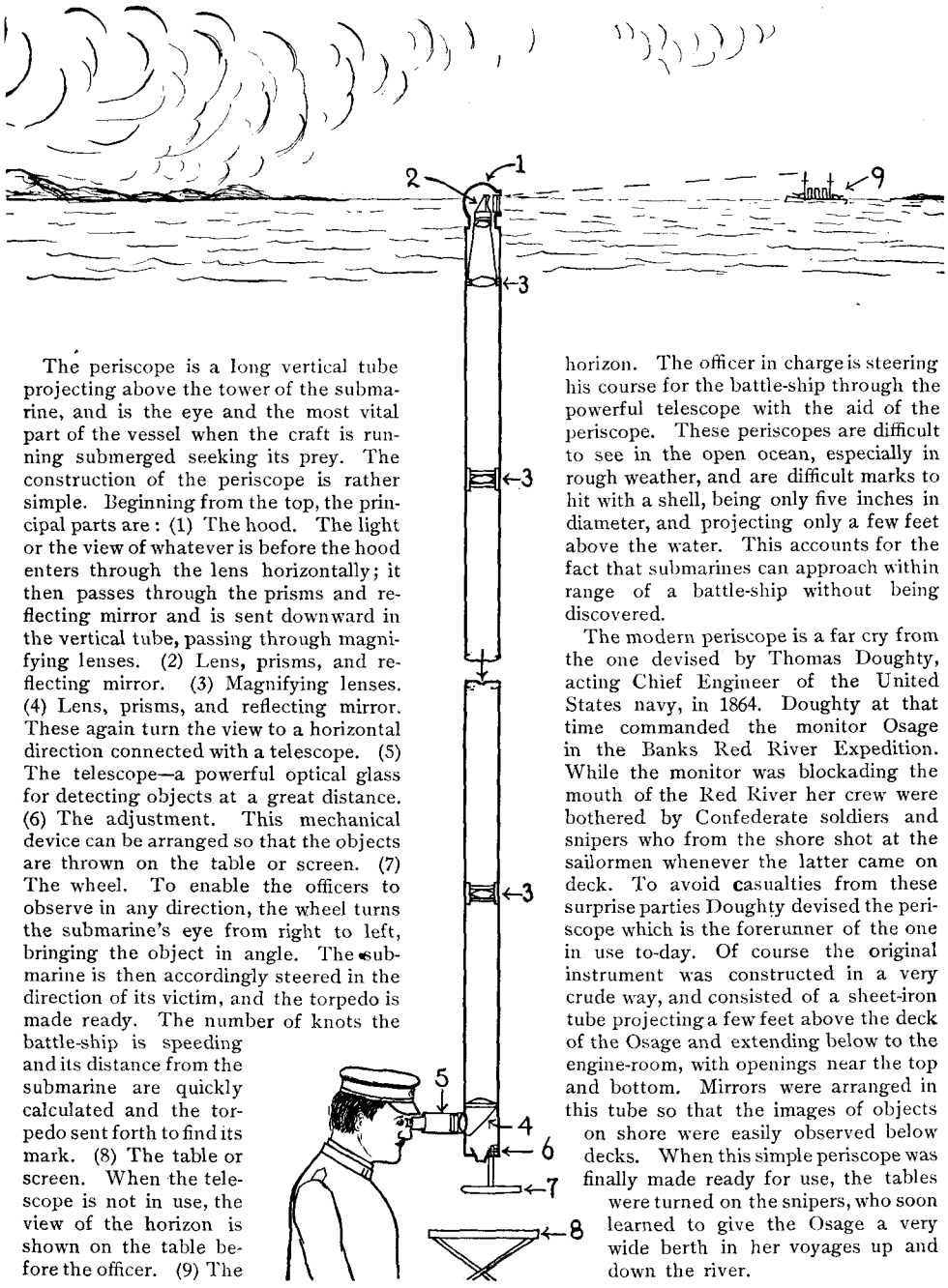


The periscope is a long vertical tube projecting above the tower of the submarine, and is the eye and the most vital part of the vessel when the craft is running submerged seeking its prey. The construction of the periscope is rather simple. Beginning from the top, the principal parts are: (1) The hood. The light or the view of whatever is before the hood enters through the lens horizontally; it then passes through the prisms and reflecting mirror and is sent downward in the vertical tube, passing through magnifying lenses. (2) Lens, prisms, and reflecting mirror. (3) Magnifying lenses. (4) Lens, prisms, and reflecting mirror. These again turn the view to a horizontal direction connected with a telescope. (5) The telescope—a powerful optical glass for detecting objects at a great distance. (6) The adjustment. This mechanical device can be arranged so that the objects are thrown on the table or screen. (7) The wheel. To enable the officers to observe in any direction, the wheel turns the submarine's eye from right to left, bringing the object in angle. The submarine is then accordingly steered in the direction of its victim, and the torpedo is made ready. The number of knots the battle-ship is speeding and its distance from the submarine are quickly calculated and the torpedo sent forth to find its mark. (8) The table or screen. When the telescope is not in use, the view of the horizon is shown on the table before the officer. (9) The horizon. The officer in charge is steering his course for the battle-ship through the powerful telescope with the aid of the periscope. These periscopes are difficult to see in the open ocean, especially in rough weather, and are difficult marks to hit with a shell, being only five inches in diameter, and projecting only a few feet above the water. This accounts for the fact that submarines can approach within range of a battle-ship without being discovered.

The modern periscope is a far cry from the one devised by Thomas Doughty, acting Chief Engineer of the United States navy, in 1864. Doughty at that time commanded the monitor Osage in the Banks Red River Expedition. While the monitor was blockading the mouth of the Red River her crew were bothered by Confederate soldiers and snipers who from the shore shot at the sailormen whenever the latter came on deck. To avoid casualties from these surprise parties Doughty devised the periscope which is the forerunner of the one in use to-day. Of course the original instrument was constructed in a very crude way, and consisted of a sheet-iron tube projecting a few feet above the deck of the Osage and extending below to the engine-room, with openings near the top and bottom. Mirrors were arranged in this tube so that the images of objects on shore were easily observed below decks. When this simple periscope was finally made ready for use, the tables were turned on the snipers, who soon learned to give the Osage a very wide berth in her voyages up and down the river.

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE DETAILS OF A PERISCOPE

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Whether her cargo was or was not contraband is of slight consequence in the face of the fact that she was attacked without any warning.

The patience of Americans is not without limit. The insertion of advertisements in American papers warning citizens of the United States not to take passage on vessels owned by the Allies lays Germany open to the suspicion that she intends to stalk some of the larger transatlantic liners, like the Lusitania.

### GERMANY'S WEEK

This week, like the one that preceded it, was Germany's. Around Ypres the Kaiser's men not only succeeded in holding all that they had gained by their chlorine bombardment, but took three villages into the bargain. To the west of Ypres Dunkirk was surprised by a long-range cannonade from some of Germany's heaviest guns, placed behind her lines near Nieuport, about twenty-two miles away. This bombardment, in which either 12-inch or 15-inch guns or both took part, is said to have constituted the longest range-firing on record in actual warfare.

In Dunkirk, where much damage to property was caused and where more than a score of civilians were killed by shells, it was believed at first that the missiles came from German war-ships that had broken through England's North Sea blockade. Though this proved untrue, the French Minister of Marine admitted that "light cruisers of thirty knots belonging to the enemy have forced one point and arrived off the Belgian coast." Probably the aim of these vessels was to reach the German naval base at Zeebrugge.

### RUSSIAN REVERSES

The Russian wave that rushed up the Carpathian slope after the Przemysl barrier was removed and that has been poised on the crest of the mountains for several weeks, prevented from flooding the Hungarian plain mainly by the Teutonic dam encountered at the Uzsok Pass, is now beginning to slip back whence it came. The flanking movement that has threatened the Czar's Carpathian armies since their advance from Przemysl has now been well begun on their right flank by a notable victory for the Austro-Germans along the whole line from the Dukla Pass to the junction of the Dunajec with the Vistula. The Russian right flank is now in the dangerous position in which General von Kluck found himself on the Marne in September, when the turning movement of the Allies forced him to fall back to the Aisne in order to avoid envelopment. At the same time pressure on the Russian left is increasing. To avoid the catastrophe of the severance of their communications it would now seem to be almost imperative for the Slavs to slide back down the muddy northern slope of the Carpathians, or quickly to bring up reinforcements. The complete demoralization of an army by an attack on flank, a common occurrence in wars of the past, has yet to be accomplished in this war.

Not only in the Carpathians, but all along his twisting battle front, the Czar's star at present seems to be on the wane. In the north, German raiders have pushed as far as Libau on the Baltic, and are threatening Riga. Farther south on the East Prussian frontier, between the Niemen and the Masurian Lakes, and also northeast of Skierniewice, in central Poland, the Germans say that they have defeated the Russians with heavy losses. From the Baltic to Galicia the Russian lines are now considerably nearer Petrograd than they were early in September.

### HISTORIC GROUND

Two German torpedo-boats and a British destroyer were sunk in a battle between rival mosquito fleets in the North Sea, but the main theater of naval operations during the week was the Dardanelles. And yet the operations in the Dardanelles are not naval at all, using the word in its customary sense. For just now it seems to be the plan of the Allies to use the guns of their ships merely as heavy artillery to blast out a way for the passage of their land forces. Every inch of the Gallipoli Peninsula is within range of the big guns of the Anglo-French armada, and the five landing parties that have lodged on this bottle-necked promontory will have as much cannon power to cover their advance as any equal force burrowing through France and Belgium.

Now that the plan has been abandoned to run the straits in ships, as Farragut ran Mobile Bay, these proceedings to drive the Turk off Russia's southern doorstep become comparable to several historic combination land and sea attacks, notably Sebastopol, Santiago, and Port Arthur. Like those affairs, this one promises to be long drawn out, and, like them, this promises to be a decisive chapter of the war epic of which it is a part. Italy and all the Balkans, nervous on the

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fence of neutrality, are expectantly awaiting a decision in the Dardanelles. A second repulse for the Allies would be a setback of the utmost gravity, while success for them—the unlocking of the back door to Russia—offers almost the only hope now visible of an early termination of the war.

The French who landed at Kum Kale, on the Asiatic side of the straits, have been driven off, but the historic plain of Troy, where Achilles spilled the blood of Hector, may yet be drenched with the blood of the Turks and their opponents. With the capture of the peninsula forts, some of which frown above the scene of the naval battle of Ægospotami, where the Peloponnesians pulled down the power of Athens in 405 B.C., the Asiatic forts can hardly be held long by the Turks. Thus perhaps on the sacred soil where history dawned will the most tremendous chapter of modern history be written.

New York City, May 5, 1915.

# PLAIN WORDS FROM AMERICA TO SISTER NATIONS IN EUROPE

*With the substance of what a distinguished American, over the name "Civis Americanus," says in these plain words The Outlook heartily agrees. There is but one statement here printed to which we would in any respect take exception. This country, we are sure, could, and under circumstances that should require it would, fight, not only on behalf of its own life and the rights of its own citizens, but also in defense of another people. It not only could do so, but has done so. The Spanish War was fought on behalf of the long-suffering Cubans.*—THE EDITORS.

I

## TO THE WHOLE CROWD

There are people from every one of you within our borders. To all of them we give a welcome, and equal rights, and the chance to grow. But the welfare of the Republic of the United States must stand first in the hearts of all who have sought and accepted her protection. She acknowledges no divided allegiance, no citizenship that is parted in the middle by a hyphen.

Deep as our friendships with some of you are, being founded in a community of ideals and efforts for freedom, fair play, and order everywhere, we still hold to the doctrine of Washington, that America can best fulfill her duty to the whole world by avoiding European alliances.

If the politics of Europe, the question of the balance of power, the rivalries of your rulers who control immense armaments and have to raise the money to pay for them, lead to quarrels among you and to the bloody arbitrament of the sword, we are sorry. We do not believe that is the best way to settle questions of international dispute.

We grieve over the present incredible war in Europe with a great sorrow. We stand ready to help the innocent sufferers among all your peoples with the best peaceful succor that we can give. But we have no rightful part nor lot in a conflict for the control of Europe. Only to defend the integrity of the Republic, her life, and the rights of her citizens, would we take arms as one man.

Our great desire is for peace—peace not only for ourselves, but also for you; not the dead peace which follows an extermination of one side by the other, but a righteous, clean, enduring peace; willing to stand at the bar of justice; promising a fair future to all the peoples of the earth, great and small; and free from the grim menace of ever-increasing militarism.

II

## TO SERVIA

We think you were greatly to blame in allowing the plots which led to the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince to fester within your borders. We think you were right in confessing this fault and in offering to submit the penalty for it to an international court. We wish that this offer had been accepted.

III

## TO AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

We understand your resentment at the assassination of your Crown Prince. We

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think you had a right to demand the punishment of that crime. But it seems to us that you pushed that demand from the region of justice into the region of politics. When you refused the offer of Servia to submit the case to an impartial court, when you were dumb to all proposals for a peaceful arbitration of the question, in which your allies Germany and Italy and your rivals Great Britain and France should take an equal part, you were wrong.

If your choice for war was free, it was a grave mistake. If it was forced upon you, it was an act of fatal weakness. It has laid the torch to Europe. It has imposed an awful burden of death and sorrow upon the present generation, and a burden of hatred and debt upon the coming generation. We would gladly believe that you did not foresee these consequences. If you will go back to the beginning and submit your case against Servia to arbitration instead of to war, we shall hail you as a heroic nation.

But perhaps there was more in that case than your just claim for punishment. Perhaps there were large interests of nationality, dynastic aspirations, rivalries of race, moving behind those tragic scenes of murder at Sarajevo and slaughter at Belgrade. Then so much the worse was war as a masked method of settling such things. So much the more was there need of an open statement of all the interests involved, and an appeal to the judgment of the civilized world. The choice of the other path has carried us back to the dark ages.

## IV

## TO GERMANY

We love your people. We did not care much for the Hessians who were hired to fight us in 1776; but that was a long time ago. Since then the Germans who have come to America have been welcome. They have been good citizens. They have helped to uphold the Union. We like their industry, their intelligence, their commercial common sense. We are glad of the extraordinary prosperity which these same qualities have brought to the Germans who stayed in Germany.

But we are not persuaded that "German culture" is the sole or the supreme guide of the world. We think there are others. Kant and Goethe we recognize as world leaders. But such men as Nietzsche and Bernhardi and the author of "The Hymn of Hate" we regard as dangerous perverts. They have gone astray themselves and they have led you astray. They have taught you that might stands above right—a doctrine which Kant would have called blasphemy. They have made you believe that the creation of an irresistible army was your only hope, and that world conquest was your national destiny.

You took up with characteristic patience and devotion the burden which your military masters laid upon you. They built, at your cost, the most wonderful war-machine of the world. And then, when "the day" for which they had been waiting came, they used that superb machine, thoroughly prepared and equipped with all the instruments of scientific destruction, to begin the most immense war in human history.

For what? Your captains said it was for self-defense. But what were they defending? Explain, please. Was it something which belonged to you and of which others tried to rob you? Or was it the right to take away from others something which you wanted?

Your Chancellor said, when your troops invaded Luxemburg and Belgium, "Necessity knows no law." But what was the necessity? According to your own account, you were stronger than anybody else, more united, better prepared to resist any attack. What necessity pressed upon you, unless it was the internal need of using your wonderful war-machine at the chosen moment and to the best advantage?

Your professors and preachers said that the war aimed at blessing the world by the extension of German culture. But can culture be really extended by shrapnel and rifle-balls? Those whom they reach can learn no more lessons. Those who survive must still be cultured by the old peaceful methods of sweet reasonableness and moral conviction. Meantime Rheims, Malines, Louvain, Soissons, and countless other monuments of art and learning are laid in irreparable ruin. Does that promote culture?

Your Kaiser said that Germany claimed "a place in the sun." But surely, on your own testimony, you had it already. You told the world that you were the most intelligent, the most artistic, the most virtuous, and consequently the most prosperous financially and industrially, of all the modern nations of Europe. We cannot help congratulating you on the extraordinary amount of sunshine that you have enjoyed for the last forty years.

*(Continued on page following illustrations)*

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# Current Events Pictorially Treated

PHOTOGRAPH BY G. G. BAIN

GENERAL IAN HAMILTON, COMMANDER OF THE LAND FORCES OF THE ALLIES AT THE DARDANELLES

General Hamilton is best known, perhaps, as the "hero of Ladysmith," the town in South Africa which he successfully defended during the Boer War; he is at home in the Mediterranean, for he was born on the island of Corfu in 1853; he entered the British army at the age of twenty, and has had a distinguished career as a soldier both in the East and in Africa. The task before him is easily the greatest he has ever undertaken, and if he succeeds, in co-operation with the fleet, in taking Constantinople, his name will be one of the greatest in the history of the great war

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## CARRYING THE WAR INTO ENGLAND

Zeppelin raids on the coast of England have been frequent of late. The picture shows coast guards bringing to shore from the river a "fire-bomb" which was dropped (with bad aim) at the town of Maldon during a recent raid. German newspapers have stated that these attacks are only preparatory reconnaissances to a great expedition of Zeppelins to be directed against London and the principal cities of southeastern England

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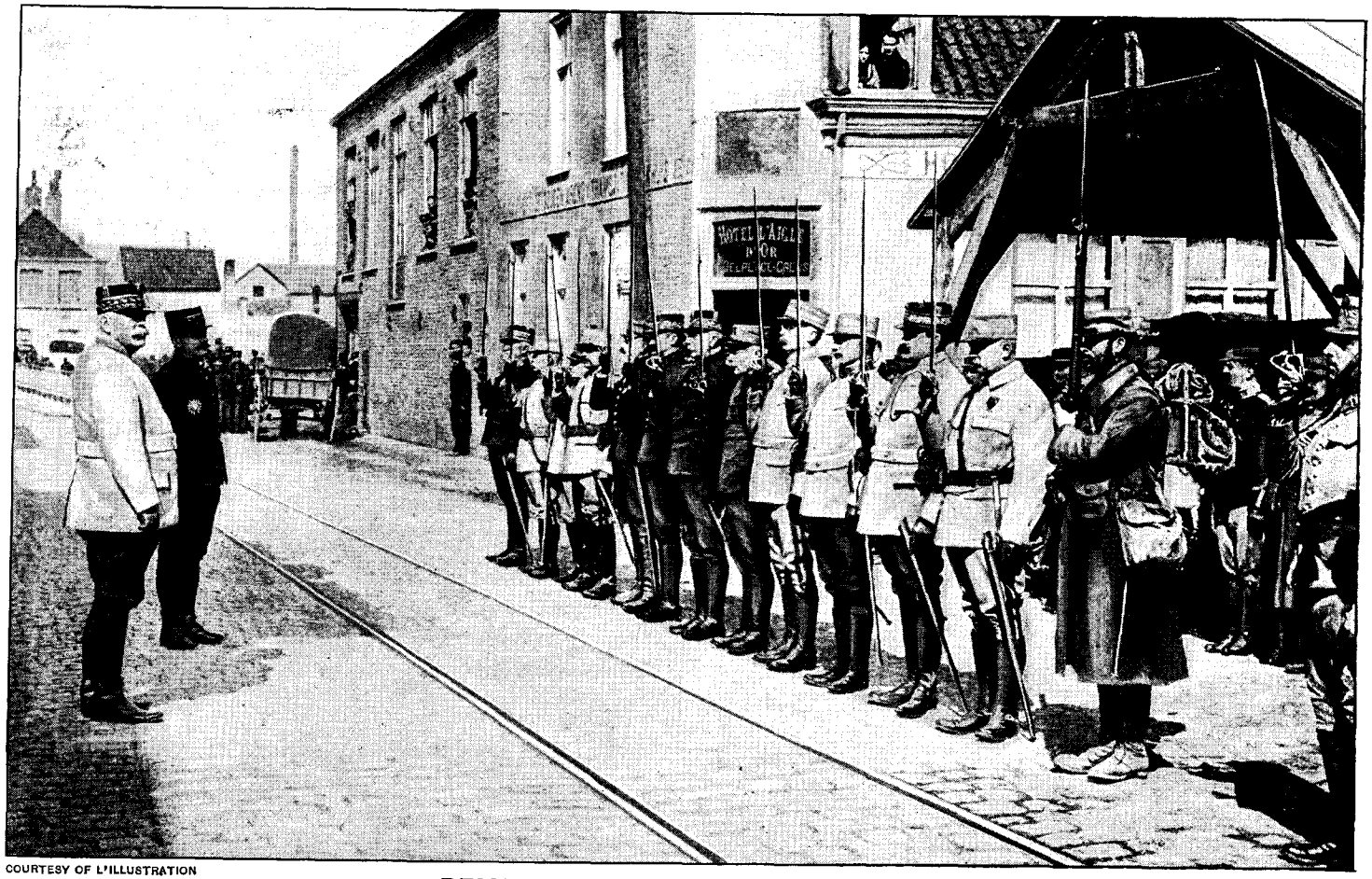

COURTESY OF L'ILLUSTRATION

## DEMOCRACY IN THE FRENCH ARMY

Napoleon said that every soldier in his army carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack; and this tradition of the armies of France is well illustrated in the spirit of the remarkable scene pictured above. General Joffre, the commander-in-chief of the French forces (standing at the left, accompanied by General Foch) is about to present the Legion of Honor decoration to the twelve Generals before him; at the end of the line of Generals is a common soldier (with his rifle at salute) who is to receive from General Joffre the highest honor possible to the French soldier, namely, a military medal with an "accolade." This private soldier, whose deed of valor is praised above that of any other in the group, had saved the life of his wounded sergeant in the face of the enemy's fire

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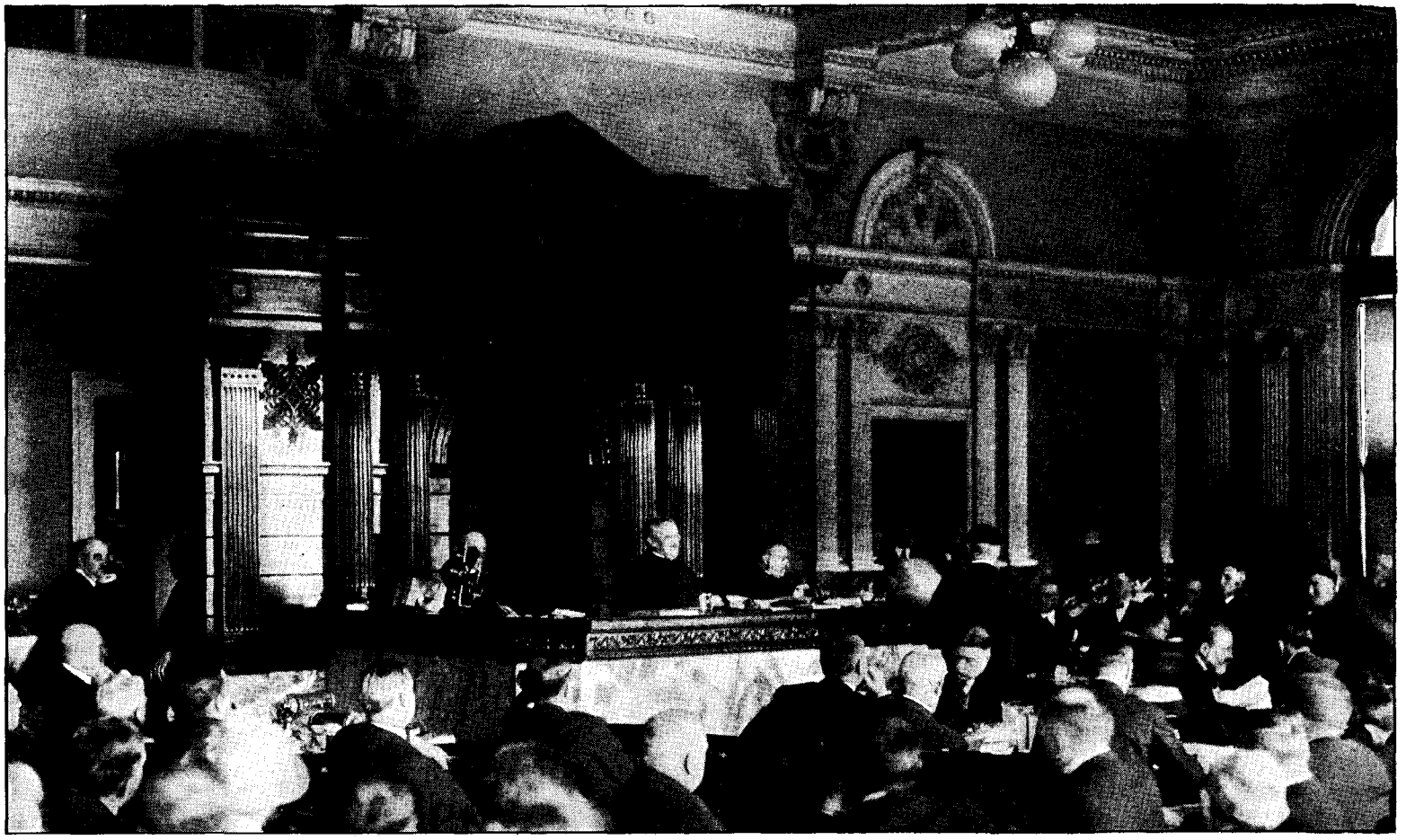

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MR. ROOSEVELT ON THE WITNESS STAND IN THE TRIAL AT SYRACUSE

Judge Andrews is seen on the bench. Mr. Roosevelt (to the left of the Judge—that is, to the reader's right) is being cross-examined by Mr. Ivins (wearing a small cap), while Mr. Barnes, the plaintiff, may be seen in the foreground, with his back to his counsel, Mr. Ivins. See account of the trial elsewhere

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PHOTOGRAPH FROM F. S. BARDE, GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA

## GET THE BOYS AND GIRLS TO CLEAN UP YOUR TOWN!

A public-spirited citizen of Guthrie, Oklahoma, the owner of a moving-picture theater, cleaned up the alleys and waste places of his city by the simple expedient of offering every boy and girl who brought twenty tin cans to his theater one free ticket to the performance. So many boys and girls came that there was not room for all, and a second performance was given to accommodate the overflow. Eight large wagons were required to haul away the cans that were piled up at the theater's entrance

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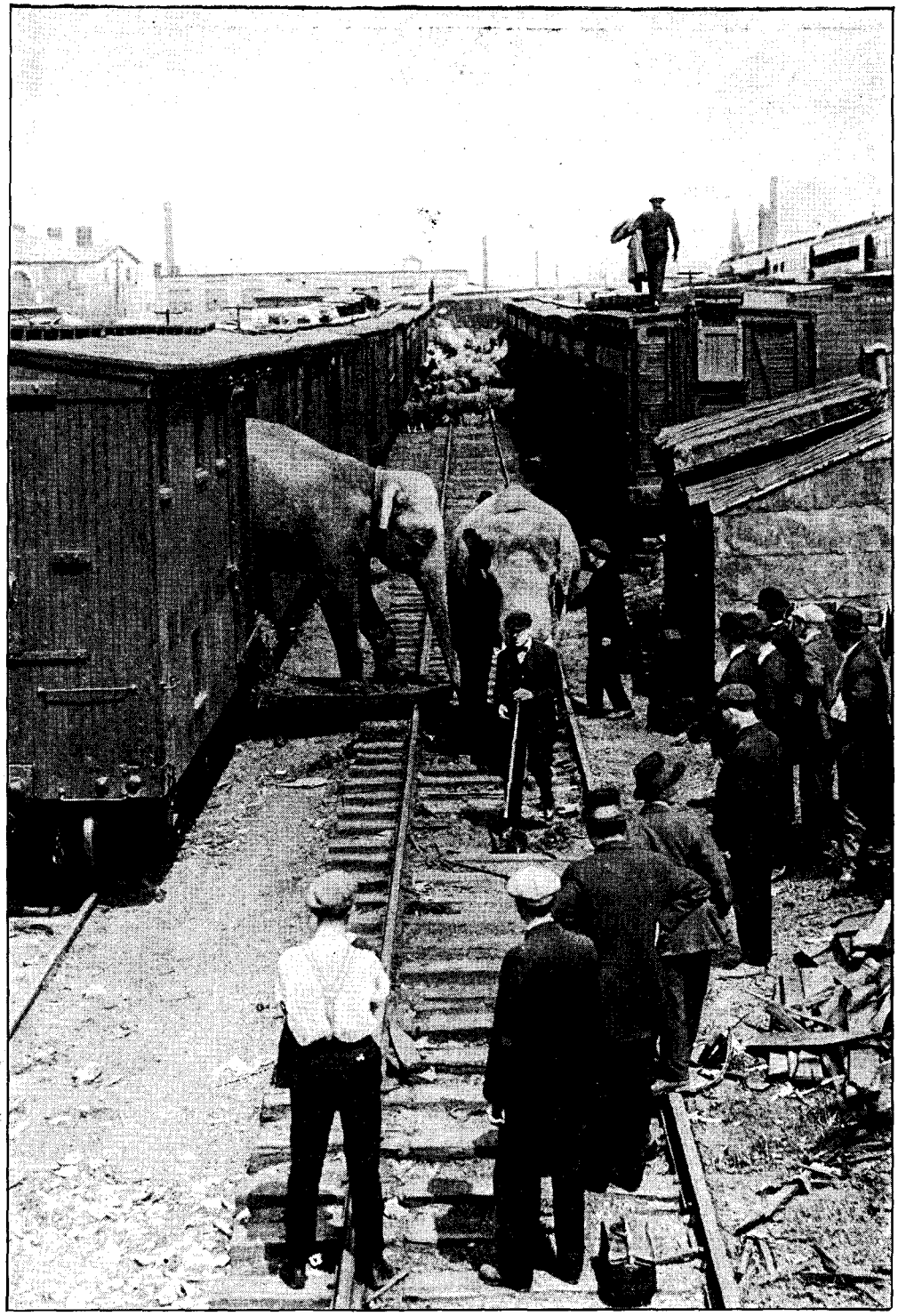

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

HOW THE CIRCUS TRANSPORTS ITS ELEPHANTS

Not even the movies have dimmed the allurements of the circus, and eager faces are everywhere awaiting the coming of "the greatest aggregation on earth" as it starts on its journey through the country. The transportation of the many attractions of a "three-ringed circus" is a matter of no small difficulty; one of the incidents of the problem, the removal of the elephants from the special cars in which they journey from place to place, is here portrayed



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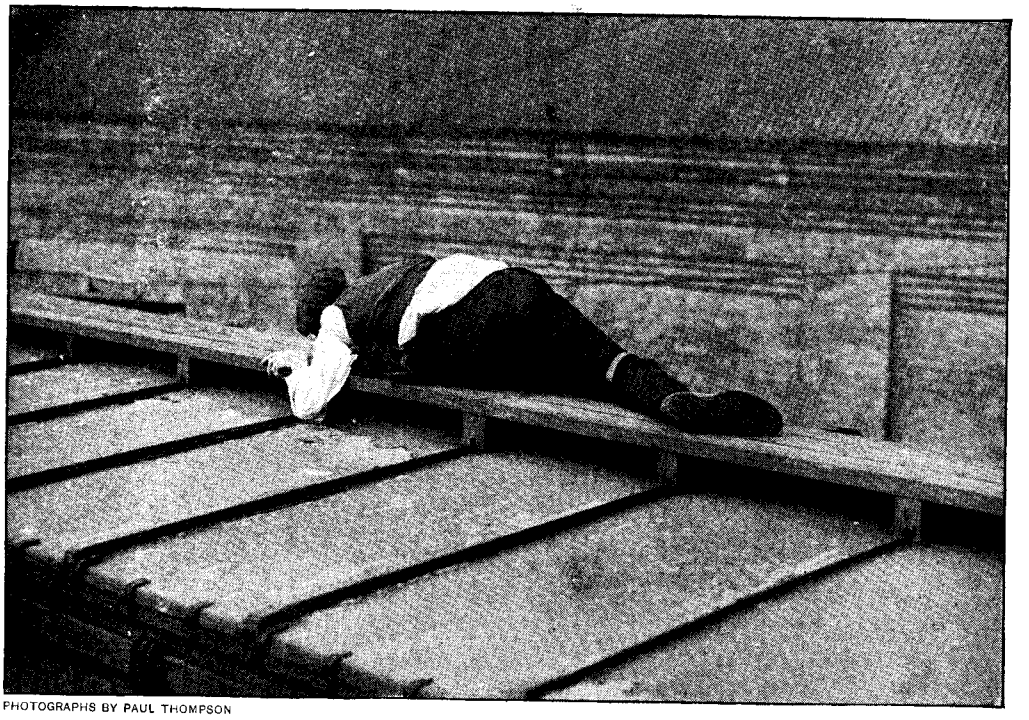

PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAUL THOMPSON

HOW THE TRAMP GETS HIMSELF TRANSPORTED FREE

The advent of warm weather makes the tramp eager to find "pastures new," and, while the measures taken by the railways have largely reduced the number of passengers of this class, freight trains throughout the country often have unwelcome guests of the kind shown above. In the picture at the top of the page the method of riding "on the rods" is shown; in the other picture the tramp is seen strapped to the footboard on the top of the car, so that he may sleep without falling off

## IN TRANSPORTATION

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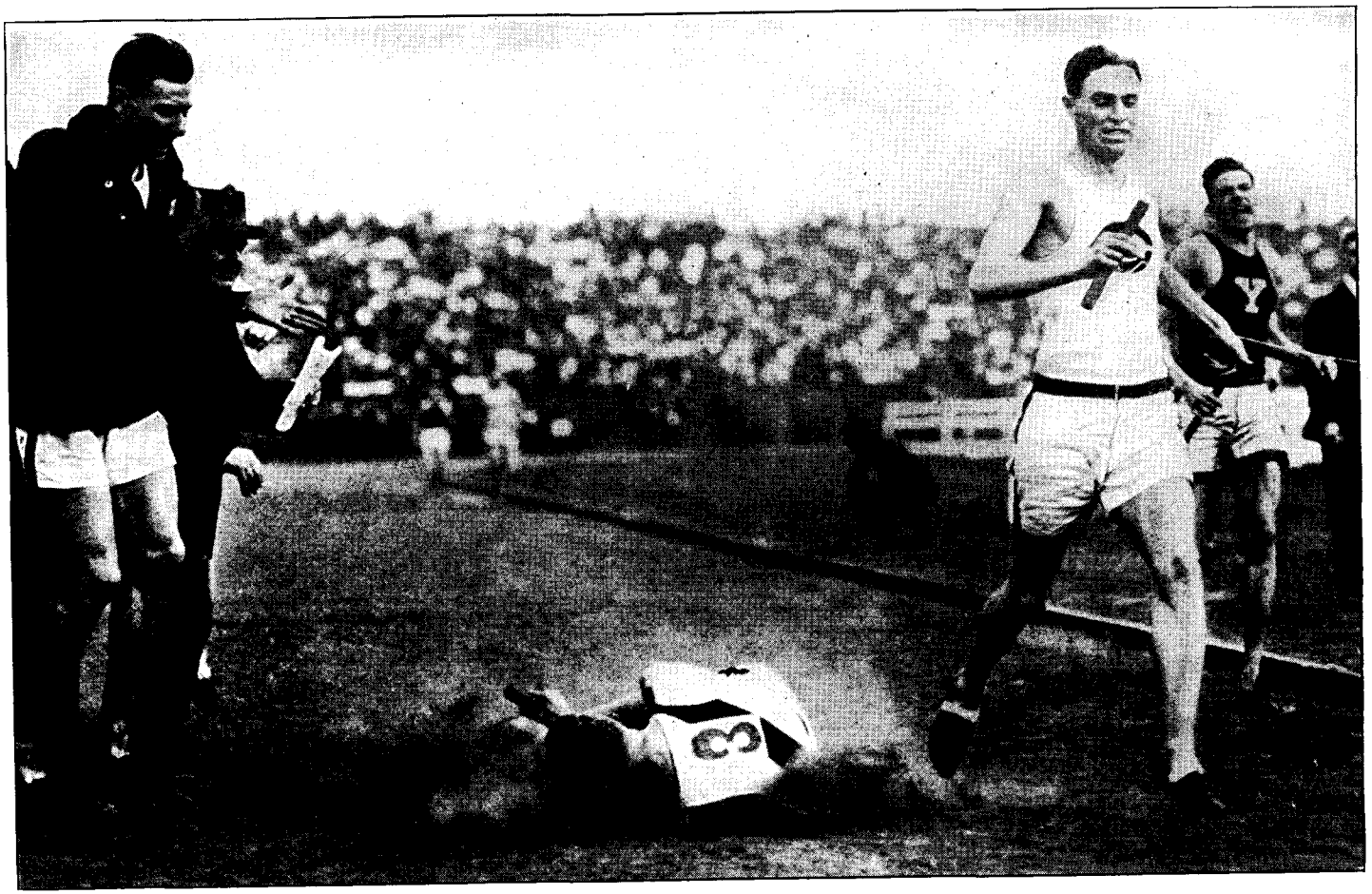

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

## AN EXCITING FINISH IN A RELAY RACE

Which of the contestants has won the race whose finish is shown above? This was one of the many interesting events in the Philadelphia Athletic Carnival, held on the University of Pennsylvania grounds a few days ago. Many of the onlookers declared that the race was won by Campbell, of Chicago, who is seen breasting the tape (Poucher, of Yale, is third). But the decision was in favor of Mackensie, of Princeton, whose prostrate form is seen to the left of his competitor. Mackensie, in a last desperate effort to win the race, hurled himself forward over the finishing line but under the tape, just far enough in advance of Campbell to gain the race. The rules declare that "the finish line shall be a line *on the ground*"

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What sunnier place do you want? Tell us honestly what you mean. Tell us honestly whether the "place in the sun" which your Kaiser claims is an imperial throne of European domination, commanding the future of the globe, or simply a fair chance for German policy to commend itself by reason and for German wealth to advance by industry and commerce.

As things are now, we do not understand you. We suspect that you upheld, perhaps pushed, Austria in the fatal decision which precipitated the war. We suspect that you prepared to invade and crush Belgium, and we think that in doing this you broke your word of honor. We suspect that your attitude indicates a tendency to regard your imperial interests as superior to human ethics. We suspect that your policy of "frightfulness" in war is a prelude to an era of scientific barbarism. For these reasons we cannot give you the sympathy which you demand in this conflict.

But because we love your people we hope that you will clear yourself from these suspicions. Liberate, restore, and indemnify the territories which you have devastated. Go back to your own strong lines. Then state your specific claim to "a place in the sun" so that everybody can understand it and submit it to the arbitrament of reason and justice. A nation so great need not fear a course so simple and honest.

V

TO BELGIUM

Bravo! A noble King, a devoted Queen, a brave, steadfast people, you have dared and suffered much in defense of the rights which were guaranteed to you by all the Great Powers of Europe. There is no reserve in our sympathy with you, and we have tried to prove it practically. Our hearts will never approve a peace which does not respect your liberty, restore your ruined land, repay the losses inflicted on you, and, so far as possible, recompense you for your heroic sacrifices.

VI

TO FRANCE

We shall never forget your friendship and help in the days when we won our freedom. We are glad that the luminous and liberty-loving spirit of France has survived all the vicissitudes of her politics. You are a nation and a people. You do not talk much of "culture," but you have given light to the world in art, in literature, in science, and in invention. The extinction of that light would be a universal calamity.

We cannot see that this war is in any way one of your choosing or of your making. No threat of yours, no claim of yours, entered into the witches' caldron. You demanded nothing for yourself, being content to pursue that peaceful development which has recreated in the twentieth century the New France.

That New France has borne herself finely. You were asked if you would work for a peaceful settlement. You answered, "Yes." You were asked if you would respect the neutrality of Belgium in case of war. You answered, "Yes, *foi de gentilhomme.*" When that neutrality was violated, and when the invader pushed through helpless little Luxemburg to strike at Paris, you stood up and fought.

You have not talked much, but you have fought well. You have suffered enormously, but you have not lost your nerve. You turned the tide on the Marne. Your silent General, your silent soldiers, your sober, self-sacrificing people, have made a splendid record. For you, we cannot doubt, this is a war of self-defense, a struggle for life.

We think we know what your life means, you Sister Republic. We wish you long life, and freedom to make your light shine in the culture of the world.

VII

TO GREAT BRITAIN

Our common history has helped us, though sometimes in a rough way, to understand each other. We use the same language to express the same ideals. We think of you, in Tennyson's phrase, as a "crowned republic." We are so near to you in thought and feeling that we do not need to make either explanations or alliances. So far as culture is concerned we think we want what you want—culture with a moral basis and a Christian spirit and a humane purpose. You are our elder sister. Let us speak to you with the frankness of a deep affection.

We do not believe that you wanted this war. We think you tried to avert it. But we do not see how you could have kept out of it with honor. Your name was signed to the "scrap of paper" that guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium. You asked France if she would keep her pledge, and the answer was "Yes." You asked Germany the same

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question, and she refused to answer. That was the crucial point. The line was drawn between "necessity" and "law." You stood on the right side of the line. When violated Belgium asked you to keep your pledged word, you kept it. We knew you would do that, and we wonder that any one should ever have dreamed that you would fail to do it. You stand where we expected to find you, and we believe you will stand fast.

We think that point is the moral strength of your position. Other reasons for your fighting, which your newspapers set forth at great length and sometimes in violent language, impress us much less. Some of them seem to incline more to the side of "necessity" than to the side of "law." We look for you to hold a "scrap of paper" sacred if you have signed it, whether the signature guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium in 1839 or the respect of neutral rights on the sea in 1856. We do not love your voice when we hear an echo of the "Hymn of Hate" in it, nor when it talks fiercely of "reprisals." We love it best when you talk soberly of duty and honor and unflinching fidelity to the great cause of human freedom, and act accordingly.

We do not think it is for you to make the first proposals of peace. That is for the aggressor. But the time may come when the point for which you contended is won, when Belgium is liberated, when France is free from invasion, when it will be for you and your allies to consider such proposals. Then we trust that you will speak with that moderation which is the mark of greatness. You will ask no more than a righting of the wrongs which have been inflicted and a guarantee that they shall not be repeated. You will keep yourself clean from the smirch of a war of greed, from the stain of a war of extermination. If you and your allies should have the chance of concluding a large, lasting, noble peace, free from the poison of an everlasting hate, free from the perpetual threat of revenge which always follows relentless conquest—if that great opportunity comes to you, we hope you will take it gloriously.

### VIII
### TO THE NEUTRAL STATES OF EUROPE

You stand on common ground with us. You maintain the right not to fight. All of us neutrals have to bear a share in the burden imposed by this incredible war which we have not chosen nor entered.

But your share of the burden is heavier than ours. The conflict hits you harder. You have had to mobilize your armies, at great expense, to protect yourselves against a possible invasion. Your economic life has suffered perhaps even more than ours. You have had a harder row to hoe, a narrower line to walk. Moreover, since this is essentially a European war, you have still to face a constant danger from which we hope we are exempt—the danger of being forced into the strife for self-defense.

Let us say this to you: We believe strongly in the right of the small, independent nations to live in freedom and peace under their own law, and to develop their own individuality and make their own contribution to civilization. We shall admire every one of you in maintaining that right by whatever means are necessary. But we shall not admire any one of you if you enter this war manifestly to obtain a share in a presumed final distribution of spoils.

### IX
### THE END

We hope that the end may come soon. The thought of that long writhing line of agony, called the "battle front," which stretches across Europe from East Prussia to Flanders is horrible to us. The thought of the brave men who have been shot to pieces, blinded, broken, crippled; the thought of the women and children who have been bereaved, afflicted, tormented, starved; the thought of all the blood and anguish which the false choice and the mad forcing of this war have cost, is horrible to us.

If it were within our power to stop it, we would. But all that we can do, as things are, is to prove our desire to help those who suffer and to show the true spirit of our neutrality.

What is that spirit?

It is a spirit which denies the idea of a world empire founded on force. It is a spirit which recognizes inalienable rights for all men and for all nations. It is a spirit which desires to see an end of militarism as the power which exalts itself in the place of God. It is a spirit which hopes for a lasting peace, founded on justice and perpetuated by equity.

CIVIS AMERICANUS.

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# JAPAN IN CHINA

BY JEREMIAH W. JENKS

FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY

*During the past few months The Outlook has received many letters from Chinese or friends of China accusing it of being pro-Japanese in sentiment. As a matter of fact, The Outlook is as much a friend of China as of Japan. It will stand as distinctly for the fair treatment of China as it has stood for the fair treatment of Japan. It has refused to condemn Japan until it knew the facts in regard to the so-called demands on China. None of the letters it has received have thrown any light on these demands; on the contrary, the letters, many of them anonymous, have been expressions of feeling rather than contributions to the discussion. For months past The Outlook has been endeavoring in vain to secure a dispassionate, authoritative statement of the Chinese position. In pursuance of this purpose we have asked Professor Jenks to make such a statement, and we are glad to present his view in the present article. Professor Jenks, as the adviser of the Chinese Government, has had exceptional opportunities for familiarizing himself with the situation in that country and with Chinese sentiment. If it shall appear that the Japanese demands involve the impairment of the territorial or governmental integrity of China, The Outlook will be the first to condemn the attitude of the Japanese Government.*—THE EDITORS.

IT is difficult to speak with any approach to finality upon the present situation created by the demands or requests of the Japanese Government on China. The negotiations have been carried on mainly in secret. The proposals put forward by the Japanese Government are at times represented as requests, at times as demands. The proposals themselves have changed their form more than once, and of course the future is still veiled.

There are nevertheless certain undoubted facts that have a bearing upon the question, and upon which one may base some reasonable conclusions.

Every thoughtful American wishes to be just toward Japan as well as toward China. The friendship of America for Japan is of long standing, and, in spite of the sharp differences of opinion regarding certain minor questions in connection with Japanese immigration into the United States, the California land laws, and the belief on the part of many Americans that Japan has not played the game openly and fairly in Manchuria and elsewhere, this traditional friendship still remains and ought to remain undisturbed. Differences of opinion on even important questions must arise between nations as between individuals. So long as they are honest, are treated frankly and sincerely, they do not disturb friendship. Treachery and double-dealing, that give rise to suspicion and the unrighteous employment of force—these are the primal sins in international matters as well as in personal matters. So long as these are avoided, settlement of misunderstandings is easy.

Japan recognizes frankly and cordially the generous and just dealings of the United States in the past. The United States recognizes no less frankly and cordially the marvelous record that Japan has made in times of war as well as of peace for upright, strict observance of rules of international law, and for not only courteous but most generous treatment of rivals and adversaries. Witness the care taken of the Russian prisoners and the treatment now accorded Germans resident in Japan. This much regarding feelings.

Every one recognizes that the Japanese Government ought to defend Japanese territory and Japan's legitimate interests. Every one knows that before the Russo-Japanese War not only those interests but the integrity of Japan's territory itself was in dire danger from the aggressions of Russia. Japan had known that she must inevitably fight Russia from the day that Russia leased Port Arthur, after, in conjunction with France and Germany, treacherously forcing Japan to give it up at the close of her war with China. The Russo-Japanese War came in 1904. Japan fought with wonderful gallantry and skill, secured her own safety for the time being at any rate, and incidentally took southern Manchuria from the rapidly tightening grip of the Russians. It is reasonable



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and right that she now take due care to prevent further Russian aggression in the future. Similarly, Japan witnessed German aggression in Shantung—an aggression that not merely violated the sovereignty of China, but that harmed Japan's commercial interests and measurably threatened her political interests as well. It is right that she guard against the repetition of such danger in the future.

American and English merchants and business men claim that Japan has violated the principles of the Open Door and equal opportunities for all nations in China, in the face of her repeated declarations that she would maintain these policies and the integrity of China. These seem to be facts:

1. Goods entering China over the Japanese railway through Korea enjoy a preference of one-third of the customs charges. This, as a matter of fact, deprives all other nations of an equal commercial opportunity, but it is in accord with a treaty, probably against China's wishes but actually made between China and Japan, and, by their failure to enter protest, assented to by other nations. In this respect Japan, therefore, seems to be within her technical rights.

2. There are certain internal charges made upon foreign goods imported into and transported throughout Manchuria. These charges are, under ordinary circumstances, the same for all foreign business men and are usually paid alike by them. Certain of the large Japanese importing houses have commuted these charges for a fixed sum agreed upon in advance with the Chinese authorities and paid through the financial agent of these associated Japanese trading concerns to the Chinese tax collectors. In this respect again the Japanese importers often have an advantage. So far as I can see, however, it is legitimate; and other traders, if backed in the same way by their governments, might be placed on equal terms. The advantage exists, other foreigners insist, through means employed by the Japanese authorities that are not employed by others. I do not know all the facts; no one does. The advantage, on the face of it, is legal.

3. Under the terms of the Russo-Chinese agreement for the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Russians had the right to appoint their station agents as guards and to make police regulations along the route followed by the South Manchurian Railway. Japan took over these rights under the terms of her peace settlement with Russia. At that time and under the Russo-Japanese peace agreement Russia and Japan covenanted to restrict the number of railway guards to fifteen per kilometer, Japan pledging herself to withdraw these guards from Chinese territory traversed by the section of the Chinese Eastern Railway which she thus acquired at such time as Russia should withdraw the Russian guards from the section of the railway in Manchuria still remaining in Russia's hand. Japan possesses these rights within the railway zone. She has no such rights outside the railway zone.

It is asserted on high authority that Japanese merchants and settlers have established themselves at places outside—sometimes far outside—the railway zone; that when the Chinese have protested the Japanese insisted upon remaining; that at times Japanese police have set up their sentry-boxes far outside the railway zone, and that, against the protests of the Chinese, the Japanese officials in Peking have insisted upon maintaining the Japanese there. This is contrary to agreement, injurious to the rights of foreigners, a violation of the principle of equal opportunity, and would not be tolerated if China could resist.

Moreover, it seems to be established that controversies have arisen repeatedly in Manchuria, in sections where the Japanese have no legal right to be, between Japanese police and Chinese; that Chinese police have been killed and that no proper reparation has been made by the Japanese. Furthermore, it is very generally asserted by the Chinese and foreigners that everywhere in Manchuria the Japanese, regardless of the merits of any controversy, insist that Japanese prestige must be maintained—that is, that Japanese are to be held always to be right regardless of the merits of the case. These statements are, of course, more or less *ex parte* statements. They seem, however, to be fairly well founded and to be reasonably interpretative of that intangible but real entity called the spirit of a people under the exigencies of a difficult situation.

4. There can be no doubt—and this is a matter on which I speak from personal knowledge—that very many of the Chinese students in America, Chinese business men in America, Chinese officials at home, Chinese officials traveling abroad, the Chinese press, American and English residents in China, all assert that the Chinese fear, and believe that they have reason to fear, serious attempts on the part of the Japanese to secure actual physical, political control of

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certain parts of China. They believe that, although Japan may seriously intend to maintain the nominal integrity of China, she is seeking an influence in Chinese affairs so completely dominating that (if secured) it would amount to an abrogation of Chinese sovereignty.

It is sometimes asked whether the Chinese would prefer Russian to Japanese domination. The Chinese are determined to suffer the domination of neither nation. The Japanese, I personally believe, are justified in seeing to it that there is no Russian domination. I do not believe that it is either just or wise —if one is to take the far-sighted view—for Japan to seek Japanese domination.

As regards the present demands, Japanese, I understand, declare that many of the concessions made to foreigners in connection with loans or development enterprises amount to an infringement of Chinese sovereignty, and that they are determined to prevent any further extension of this policy. Apparently, however, they seek to assume a right of tutelage as regards China's policy, which in itself, if granted, would be a distinct violation of sovereignty.

To my mind, the Chinese do not need a single dominating mentor. So far as the Chinese Government needs advisers, it is competent to select its own advisers and to decide how far it will follow their advice. The progress of the last two years toward a consolidation of the Government, toward arousing and solidifying patriotic feeling among the people, toward uprooting the old Manchu system of official corruption, toward the re-establishment of the finances, toward everything that marks progress along modern, progressive lines, is worthy of the highest admiration The great progress of Japan that has aroused the wonder of the world has, in my judgment, nothing to equal this late record of China, because at no time did the Japanese Government have to struggle against such terrible odds as those confronting the Chinese.

Japan has an opportunity never before offered to her, and rarely if ever before offered any nation, to adopt a helpful policy to a sister nation which will give her free scope to exercise the noblest and best powers that her great statesmen possess. She can meet this opportunity, not by threats nor by force, but only by moral suasion—in the best sense of that expression—and by presenting suggestions and plans that commend themselves through their wisdom. The use of force or the threat of force will defeat the ends for which she ought to strive.

Japan could doubtless, temporarily at least, by physical force dominate certain parts of China. My own feeling is that such domination—owing to influences that would shortly be brought to bear not only by China but also by other countries—would be brief, and that the final event would be most humiliating to Japan. But I personally have never for one moment believed that the Japanese intended such physical domination. The wonderful self-restraint and good judgment that they showed at the close of the China-Japan War, at the close of the Russo-Japan War, in practically all of their negotiations with foreign countries, I have believed will be exercised now.

The United States and Japan, as I view the question, have interests in China that are substantially identical along commercial lines. There will naturally be rivalries, and in those rivalries, for many reasons—geographical, racial, and others—Japan has the decided advantage. Japan aspires to be leader in Oriental affairs—a worthy aspiration. She can attain that end best by working with the United States instead of by attempting to undermine either our interests or those of any other nation. I hope the Japanese statesmen see this. To my mind, the method of conducting the present negotiations in Tokyo has aroused suspicions that are very injurious to Japan. It is possible that under the circumstances no other method was practicable. It is to be hoped that in the very near future the full truth can be made public, and that it will then be found that Japan is not seeking to force China into a position of humiliating subjection to a tutelage which the entire body of the Chinese people would resent, however strongly and sincerely some Japanese might consider such tutelage advisable or desirable. It is hoped that, while protecting Japan—exercising, if you please, a real Monroe Doctrine for Asia—the Japanese statesmen have had the far-sighted wisdom not to be selfishly aggressive any more than the United States has been aggressive in the Western continent. It is hoped that the inspiration back of these demands is Japan's eager desire to do everything possible to help the Chinese to develop themselves, a help which Japan is fully capable of rendering. To my mind, this is the only wise policy and the only just policy for Japan—viewing the question even from the Japanese standpoint.

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# SING, YE TRENCHES!

## BY HELEN COALE CREW

Sing, ye trenches bloody-lipped!
Sing! For into you has slipped
*Lycidas, dead ere his prime.*
All ye cruel trenches, sing!
Under frost and under rime
All his body beautiful,
All his body wonderful,
Low hath lain. Now, cunningly,
April, with sweet mystery,
Molds the trenches horror-lipped
Into chalices of spring.

*Who would not sing for Lycidas?*
See, across the hideous gashes
Soft green fire of April flashes,
Starred with windflowers delicate;
Gemmed with purple violet;
Roseate with crimson glow
Where again his pulses blow
In young clover. For his sake
See the budding crocus break
Into flame; and hear the grass,
Green-tongued, sing for Lycidas!

Sing, ye gaping wounds of earth!
Tomb-like, ye have taken him,
Cradled him, distillèd him;
Womb-like, ye have brought to birth
Myriad flowers and fragrances.
Requiemed with spring he lies.
God, who took unto His heart
All his throbbing, vital part,
Sowed his body in the earth.
Let the trumpets of the grass
Pæan shout for Lycidas!

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# WHY MEXICO IS A THORN IN OUR SIDE

## BY CASPAR WHITNEY

### SECOND ARTICLE: HAVE AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN IN MEXICO ANY RIGHTS?

TIME was when there was no foreigner in Mexico who moved about that country in greater security than the American, or whose Government was held so high in respect. That was before the Mexicans shot up Douglas from across the border and "watchful waiting" loosed the passions of rapine and murder. Since then it has been an open season on Americans in Mexico.

And not without reason. These Mexicans, who for all their life and for all the life of their fathers before them had thought of America and Americans as puissant and masterful, among all of whom the fear of intervention—*el fantasma* they call it—had worked for peace and the greatest material progress in their history, suddenly awoke as from a dream; America was not mighty, the American no longer invincible. They saw American citizens kidnapped and held for ransom, their homes looted, their crops destroyed, their cattle and horses stolen, their industries despoiled to the verge of ruin. They have seen (as three United States Senators have declared in Congress) over one hundred and fifty "gringos" or foreigners killed within the last couple of years by Mexicans, and comparatively none brought to punishment. They have seen Americans in Mexico appeal in vain to their Government for protection. They have seen their own Government disregard, as though it did not exist, the treaty under which is guaranteed the safeguarding of the life and the property of foreigners in their midst. They have seen the "representations" of the American Government ignored; the personal agents of the President of the United States treated with contumely. They have seen the Secretary of State of the American Nation respond immediately to substantially the same call for help from a British company which had been made to him without avail a year previous by American companies. They have seen both the President and his Secretary of State close the door with scant courtesy upon American business men of unquestionably high standing and long, honorable careers in Mexico, and open it wide to Mexicans whom they knew to be mere factional press agents having neither sincerity nor home standing. They have seen Washington the hope of the Mexican politician and his orator breed, but the despair of any American who, at risk perhaps of both fortune and life, was pioneering the trade of his country in Mexico.

Is it to be wondered at that these Mexicans believe England and Germany greater among nations than the United States, or that, seeing the American Government neglect the inalienable rights of its citizens, these half-civilized people should look upon those same citizens as being of no consequence to any one; and is it to be wondered at that, after all they have witnessed under this vacillating and bewildering United States policy, they should cease to lend ear to American suggestions or begin to question America's purpose as they hear its President declare, "While I am President nobody shall interfere with the Mexicans," and see over all their country the ghastly evidences of the result of interference?

Rightly or wrongly, however you accept it, they feel that had we left Huerta alone or given him the support of our recognition, he would have been quite able to quell the revolutionists, to establish order and peace, and spare their country from devastation and the people from the calamity which has overwhelmed them.

And therein is the thorn in our side—that Mexicans are unable to respect the foreigners among them who are so notoriously abandoned by their own country, or fear a nation which follows up neither threat nor ultimatum, or esteem an Administration that has bluffed and, when called, turned from its task of making good.

Our countryman in Mexico is no longer the *Americano* on occasions; he is the "gringo" always. The potency of *el fantasma* has evaporated; the erstwhile "Colossus of the North" has shrunk to a "big bluff" whose threats are without terror, whose warnings provoke amusement. The friendly neighbor of other days is become, in the eyes of these simple people, a rapacious conspirator who, under the pretext of helping the "submerged eighty per cent," withdraws the restraining hand which brought them peace and work and the most happiness



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they ever had known, thus licensing the worst elements in their country to overrun the land, and so gradually to exhaust them that in the end they and their country will the easier fall victims to this plot of the grasping Northerner to annex them, without the "horrors" and expense of war.

Such is the impression of the average Mexican mind, and such the process by which it has been created. The better-class man looks upon us as blundering meddlers, who, through inexcusable ignorance of his people, have helped mess his country by dangling the fetish of self-government before the eyes of the illiterate, and, by our weakened front before the assaults upon our own nationals, have armed and encouraged the lawless among them to sweep over the country drunk with new-found power and the lust for destruction.

This man says we ought to take a hand in restoring order to his country; so do the native traders, the real workers, and almost every man, indeed, outside the armies and without a chance at looting; but none carries us in his heart. There is not real friendliness for us in any class, despite the smooth Mexican orators who go to Washington, virtuous and aggrieved, to pour their fervid tales of patriotism and constitutionalism into the open ears of State. It is merely fine phrasing; they set the Constitution aside in Mexico whenever it is found expedient for personal ends to do so. Little more patriotism exists than affection for or truth about Americans. Mexico has developed patriots—great ones: Hidalgo, Morelos, Guerrero, Juarez, Porfirio Diaz; but the breed seems to have dwindled sadly, leaving an orator remnant that declaims and agitates and pilfers. There are, of course, still patriots, a number of them, who fight with ideals of the highest ever before them; but they are lost among the great number that see in the present disturbance only personal opportunity for advancement, or loot, or revenge.

Factional agents and impassioned "patriots" have told the President that the present state of anarchy in Mexico is a "spontaneous uprising" by the people in a "demand for land;" and the President obviously believes them. But it is nothing of the sort. The agrarian question is by no means the *casus belli* it is exploited to be. Its application is not as general as proclaimed. In a few directions it is relevant; for the most part it is espoused by leaders because it is an admirable theme upon which to agitate the people and build discontent and recruit soldiers. And yet let this significant fact remain with every American who would know his Mexico: there are fifteen million people in Mexico; engaged in this "spontaneous uprising" for life, liberty, and free land there are about eighty-five to ninety thousand more or less accoutered men distributed among the various factional commands—Villa, Zapata, Gutierrez, Carranza, Salazar, Herrera, *et al.*; the most they claim is one hundred and fifty thousand!

That does not suggest a great deal of spontaneity or an agrarian or other question either widely pertinent or very dear to the hearts of the people. Urging Americans to leave Mexico exerted perhaps widest influence in the general lowering of native respect for our nationals, as certainly it was the severest of the early trials with which their Government beset them. Americans and Mexicans alike accepted the warning as a notice that the United States was about to command Mexico to live up to her treaty; and when there followed only other similar warnings for the Americans, together with assurances to the Mexicans that intervention was not even a remote possibility, the Mexicans read them as open acknowledgment that the great United States was wanting either the courage or the desire to protect its own people.

To the Americans who obeyed what seemed tantamount to an order and abandoned their homes and their property the flight was disastrous, particularly upon those of the farmer and rancher class that came out of the Yaqui and Mayo Valleys in Sonora, and from the States of Vera Cruz, Tehuantepec, Nuevo Leon, Tamaulipas, Jalisco, Puebla, and Aguas Calientes. All suffered loss, many heavy loss, and some were injured beyond recovery. They had received no protection, so that they would not need to desert their property, nor have they received reimbursement for the damage they sustained because such protection was denied them. Those that did return faced, in addition to their material loss, the salutation of "*Gringo cobarde!*"—cowardly gringo!

And the manner in which the American Government helped its citizens to get out of the country was not calculated to improve their local standing, especially when the natives had the opportunity of comparing the transportation provided for these citizens who were leaving because their President had so advised with the transportation placed at the disposal of the Mexican Felix Diaz,

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who was running away for his life because he had played a despicable part in a dirty plot and had lost, as he well deserved.

With the official advice in August, 1913, to Americans to get out of Mexico, consuls were ordered by the State Department to furnish to such citizens as could prove that they were without funds "steerage or lowest-priced transportation obtainable"! After the occupation of Vera Cruz an additional order was sent consuls, directing, "You will hereafter furnish transportation to the United States to destitute American citizens only, and only to those who have homes or who have relatives or friends who will care for them after their arrival."

In order to help understand how the Mexican has come to feel that he can treat an American like a Mexican, it is to be remembered that the lives of these citizens were endangered, not by any act of theirs, but by the acts of their Government; that they were getting out of Mexico, leaving all their worldly possessions, on the urgent advice of their President; and that the destitute among them were not of the indigent class, but merely the less fortunate of the refugees in converting assets into funds at the moment of the getaway, which to the most of them came very suddenly, as there had been no word of the landing at Vera Cruz until it was an accomplished fact.

When Felix Diaz sought and received the protection of the United States for his getaway, he was carried out of danger on an American battle-ship. When two of the Madero family were, rightly enough, sheltered by the United States from the dreadful deeds being done at Mexico City by Felix Diaz, Rudolfo Reyes, General Mondragon, Huerta & Co., they were sent to Havana, together with four solvent friends, on a special trip of the United States cruiser Chester; and when Americans traveling in Europe, in danger and need comparatively slight, became stranded by the outbreak of war, the American Government sent over a battle-ship and thousands of dollars in gold.

Apparently the Mexican is not without ground for feeling that the Americans in Mexico, where they are extending the trade of their country, are outside the thought and the jurisdiction of their Government.

And evidently that is the way Washington does feel about it.

The Americans rallying upon Tampico after the flag incident and the landing of the troops at Vera Cruz in April, 1914, were forsaken by their own war-ships, rescued by English and German naval officers, and finally put on board the American ships at sea, seven miles from the port where they had been ordered by Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy. They naturally expected to be returned, as in the preceding December, in a few days, after the agitation had subsided; they had left their business, their homes, without arrangement, without clothes. Instead, they were taken to Galveston and quarantined.

After being detained a month, a chosen committee went to Washington to offer light on the Mexican situation and to ask more consideration for the refugees than so far had been shown.

When the same committee asked Secretary Daniels to provide return transportation—regular passenger steamers being suspended—for the Americans who wished to go back to Tampico in order to supply in such measure as they could the protection for their homes, their farms, their business, which their Government withheld, he told them that "if they had been worth their salt" they "would never have left their country." This showed a lively appreciation by the Secretary of the home bailiwick, and brings to mind an incident further illustrating his equipment for handling the Tampico affair and the interests of Americans in that region, when the committee returned to the Secretary on a second attempt to secure help for their marooned countrymen. Mr. Daniels was more gracious on this visit, and, with perhaps a wish to placate the people who had been so sorely tried by the extraordinary conduct at Tampico, remarked that he did not see how ordering the war-ships into the Gulf out of Tampico Harbor was withdrawing protection from the Americans in the city; whereupon he was informed that Tampico is seven miles up the Panuco River from the Gulf.

That is how familiar the Secretary of the United States Navy was with the port where American war-ships had been for eighteen months for the purpose of safeguarding Americans, and from which they were withdrawn seven miles to sea when the crisis came, abandoning the mission on which they had been sent!

The President was "unable" to see this committee representative of the Americans in Mexico who had been left to the mercy of the Mexican mobs by their Government. Secretary Bryan, it is reported, asked, when

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they sought his help, as he is said to have asked every man who came to him from Mexico—except the natives—"what interests" they represented!

When the refugees at Galveston went to the transports which were at last furnished them, they were obliged before going on board to sign a document to the effect that they returned to Tampico at their own risk and waived all rights of the protection of their Government.

In a word, when Senator Bacon, then Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, frankly told a committee of Americans who sought his help in March, 1915, that they had gone to Mexico "at their own peril," and "from the time they crossed that river [Rio Grande] the interest and responsibility of the United States in them and in their safety ceased," the Senator correctly and practically expressed the sentiments of President Wilson, Secretaries Bryan and Daniels, and, so far as there is any evidence to the contrary, of the entire official family, and through them the policy of the American Government towards its nationals in Mexico.

And a great many American citizens in the United States—comfortable under their limited horizon, ignorant on the subject of Mexico, confused by its many diligent, lying factional agents whom our Government allows freely to pursue their campaign among us, perplexed by conflicting, changing reports—agree with the official family at Washington, and say, "Well, now, you took your own chance when you went down there."

There is cause for the confusion of these honest, if deficient-in-national-spirit, people, who, in the May, 1914, issue of Mr. Bryan's paper, the "Commoner," read on page 2, in an editorial on "Mediation in the Mexican Crisis," over the signature of Mr. Bryan, the following: "A period of turmoil and excitement in the capital and throughout the country followed [*i. e.*, upon the landing at Vera Cruz], during which nearly all the Americans residing in Mexico sought safety in a return to the United States. Fortunately no deaths have been reported in the American colony, and, now that the excitement has subsided, it is not likely that any fatalities will occur."

This did not represent the situation in Mexico either at the time the editorial was written or published. In the preceding month of April Mr. Bryan had by telegraph requested the Consul at Tampico to recover the bones of Burwell and another American killed at Ozuluama two days after the landing of United States troops at Vera Cruz!

Had these American citizens who went into Mexico any reason in fact for believing that they and their property and their business interests would be, in case of need, protected by their home Government? Let us see.

On page 423, Volume II, of Moore's "International Law Digest" you can read what that statesman William M. Evarts, Secretary of State under President Hayes, wrote to our then Minister to Mexico:

> The first duty of a government is to protect life and property. This is a paramount obligation. For this governments are instituted, and governments neglecting or failing to perform it become worse than useless. This duty the Government of the United States has determined to perform to the extent of its power towards its citizens on the border. It is not solicitous, it never has been, about the methods or ways in which this protection shall be accomplished, whether by formal treaty stipulation or by informal convention; whether by the action of judicial tribunals or that of military forces. Protection in fact to American lives and property is the sole point upon which the United States are tenacious. In securing it they have the right to ask the co-operation of their sister Republic. So far, the authorities of Mexico, military and civil, in the vicinity of the border, appear not only to take no steps to effectively check the raids or punish the raiders, but demur and object to steps taken by the United States. . . .
>
> I am not unmindful of the fact that, as you have respectfully reported, there is reason to believe that the Mexican Government really desires to check these disorders. But, as you represent, they encounter, or apprehend they may encounter, a hostile public feeling adverse to the United States . . . thwarting their best intentions and efforts.
>
> It is greatly to be regretted that such a state of perverted public feeling should exist. But its existence does not exonerate the Mexican Government from any obligation under international law. Still less does it relieve this Government from its duties to guard the welfare of the American people.

Considering such to have been the continuous attitude of the United States towards its citizens in Mexico since the signing of the Treaty of 1831, is it surprising that when the American Administration in 1913 relinquished its solicitous care of its nationals, the Mexicans should also cease to care about them?

Nor was this historic precedent the only

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guarantee given Americans doing business in a foreign country. In the National Democratic platform of 1912, upon which Woodrow Wilson was elected to the Presidency of the United States, is the following plank:

> The Constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world; and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and for his property.

The new attitude on the part of the United States Government appears most easily explained by the novel attempt to make Mexico an experimental station for the ethical and sociological theories of our President, and his assumption:

That "big business" in Mexico has fomented and supported revolutions.

That to have interests in Mexico is to be a conspirator against the local government.

That a concession is a mortgage on the government and a privilege which throttles business and individual liberty.

That the Mexicans are ready for, and capable of, democratic government such as ours.

In almost fanatic pursuit of his slogan—by no means original with him—that we shall acquire no part of Mexico, that there shall be no campaign of conquest, the President has gone almost to the length of branding every man doing business in Mexico as a disguised annexationist, and of thinking that every one who raises his voice in protest against outrageous abandonment of our countrymen, in clear disregard of the first principle and law of civilized government, is demanding armed intervention.

And this is written with all due respect for our President, whom none more than I admire for his ideals, his courage, his faith, and his effort for clean business and progressive government. No doubt it is his idealism and a desire to help undeveloped people which led to his mistaken and unfortunate policy in Mexico. But while we acclaim the ideal, life teaches us that an ideal is not to be materialized into tangible usefulness out of mere theory by a process contrary to tradition and the knowledge born of experience.

Such is the Administration attitude which has influenced American writers and editors having sentiment equally laudable and no fuller knowledge of Mexico and the Mexicans. Where the custom has been so common it may appear invidious, as of course is not the case, to particularize, yet Mr. Edward G. Lowry in the "World's Work" for January, 1914, writing as the official interpreter of the President's words and intents and ideals as to his Mexican policy, is open to quoting on that account as well as because he reflects the popular misunderstanding of Mexico and the assurance with which able, serious-minded journalists, without first-hand information, without study of the conditions on the ground, dispose of the problems of that country and people with finality and confidence:

> The first item of President Wilson's Mexican policy has been, Huerta must go; . . . a second item of his policy, and the ultimate end of it, the concessionaries and foreign interests must go. Not that foreign capital must leave Central America [are we to understand that the official attitude towards business in Central America and in Mexico is to vary?—C. W.], but that it shall cease to be a dominant special interest. . . .
>
> Material interests are to be set aside entirely. They are the dominating forces to-day in most of the Latin-America republics. They have caused most of the troubles of those republics. They are at the bottom of the disorder and strife in Mexico to-day. . . .
>
> The President is seeking to put an end to revolutions in Latin-American states. . . . Dollar diplomacy has been supplanted by diplomatic welfare work. . . . What, then, is the underlying cause of the present troubles in Mexico? Foreign interests and concessions. . . .
>
> There will never be any peace in Latin America so long as the presidents of those states are put into office and maintained in office by one set of concessionaries, while another set of concessionaries, being out of favor, is striving by every expedient to pull down the Government and erect another more friendly in its place.

How can we ever hope to extend American trade in South America, of which just now there is much talk and opportunity, not to say knit friendlier, closer relations, while our misinformation of those countries is so notable? How can we expect to invite the attention of peoples of whom we know so little and make so little intelligent effort to know more?

Because revolutions in South America were rather frequent a decade or two ago and Nicaragua and San Domingo have not lost the habit, it has become a tradition along "Newspaper Row" that they "obtain" everywhere in Latin America, notwithstanding that recent years have brought only slightly

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more disturbance in South America, outside of Peru, than we have at many labor demonstrations in New York City—not to mention the New England mill districts or the coal-fields of Pennsylvania and Colorado.

Mr. Lowry cannot point to a single President in South America or in Mexico who was "put in office and maintained in office by one set of concessionaries." The assertion is so far from fact that it is ridiculous; worse, it is a pitiable exhibit of our ignorance concerning our neighbors, in whom it arouses resentment and contempt. We do not know Mexico or the Mexicans; we do not know South America or the Latin-Americans generally; either our public is fed on the hasty conclusions of chance or prejudiced observers or on the enthusiastic propaganda of the Pan-American evangelists. The few unbiased and informing books appear rarely to leave their library shelf.

That obsession, persistently fostered by politicians and the "inspired" members of the press, that revolutions in South America and in Mexico have been stimulated and sustained by "big business," is the stock hypothesis of every scribbling sophist who casts but a casual, languid eye over the field; yet, perhaps more than any other single cause, it explains why Americans take no deeper interest in Mexico, and hence know so little about it.

Here is not the place to discuss this subject, as I shall later. I will say, however, that if there is any one class of men in Mexico who do not want revolutions it is the foreigners having business, large or small, in that country. And I will say also that the best friend in Mexico of that frequently mentioned "submerged eighty per cent" is the foreign business man, individually and collectively. He is clothing them, educating them, giving them a square deal.

There is scarcely a big foreign company in mining, milling, planting, or oil, from the Gulf to the northern border, which does not maintain schools for the children of its workmen and hospitals for all the neighborhood. There is not a class of labor employed by foreigners which is not receiving a daily wage at least twice, and frequently three times and even more, as much as before the foreigners came. There is not a foreign company, large or small, or an individual foreigner, so far as I could discover, journeying far and near save in Yucatan, that does not house laborers better than the latter house themselves, or treat them thoroughly well. The attitude of the foreigner towards his workmen, in truth, is paternal; I have never seen anything to excel it in degree or to equal it in prevalence. In one great mining camp of American and British interests which I visited they were even safeguarding their men against the native loan sharks that are common to mining camps the world over, and endeavoring to counteract the pulque habit, so widespread and so debauching—a real curse of Mexico.

This may not be diplomatic welfare work, but it is practical; it is a lift where most needed; and it is the custom of the foreigner with his native workmen over all Mexico.

The men who create wrong impressions concerning the American's business way are a certain type of promoter and the kind of lawyer that mix in the business or the politics of one or the other faction in Mexico, and get a plenty of publicity.

The stories which give excuse for the sometime notion that Americans "exploit" Mexicans rise from isolated incidents, such as the recent (February, 1915) Federal arraignment in Los Angeles of Harry Chandler (of the Los Angeles "Times") *et al.*, on the charge of fomenting revolution in Mexico, because of the discovery by a Carranza agent of an alleged political plot on their ranch in Lower California.

It may be, and usually is, a fact that the promoters and factional lawyers and ranchmen are themselves victims of shrewd local politicians—than whom none is sleeker than the Mexicano—and innocent of thought or intent to do anything not legitimate; yet association with factional business or politics makes them the target of all Mexico, and, as I have said, leads to opinions abroad which may do them injustice, and which certainly do grave injustice to the average American business man in Mexico.

As to "concession," the word with which the press agents delight to conjure: in print, in the booming, florid prospectus with which the promoter angles, it is used for exploiting and advertising, a bait for foreign capital. In reality it is a license to do business free of the encumbering and costly political holdups which may otherwise beset the path of legitimate adventuring—a franchise. The privileges it carries are similar to those granted in America in new country to a county or State developing project; and in the case of a new or budding industry, freedom from

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import duties for a term of years on the plant machinery which must be brought in from the outside. I know of but one case in Mexico where the term of such freedom from import duty attained to what might be called special privilege—and unfair to others in the same industry.

The concession is not intended to be, and usually is not, monopolistic so far as relates to the various industries; one glaring exception is a manufactory of dynamite—not of American ownership.

There are gambling concessions and slaughter-house concessions, all held by natives, just as there are taxicab concessions and railway stations and train book and magazine selling concessions all over the United States.

To say that Americans are "exploiting" Mexico at the expense of the natives is a shameful slander upon the men who have been responsible in capital and in labor for the building of American industry in that country. A finer body of citizens never represented America to do pioneer work anywhere.

These are the men who are doing practical "uplift work" for the submerged eighty per cent by giving them better pay, better homes, more food, clothes, and schools for their children. At one and the same time they are extending American trade and getting better acquainted with the people—both professed objects of their home Government, which has repeatedly and officially expressed a wish to extend Latin-American trade. These men on the ground are really contributing to the extension of that trade by the only possible method; yet it is made clear to them by their President, and especially by his Secretary of State, that their Government is annoyed by their presence in Mexico, where originally they were encouraged to go by both Mexico and the United States, which had drawn a treaty, with them and others like them in mind. And whereas American exports into Mexico were nil, now they surpass those of all other nations combined.

Conditions in Mexico were tranquil when these men went there, and the attitude of the American Government, as expressed by President Polk's Message and as recorded in the Treaty of 1831, gave them, as has been seen, every good reason and right to believe that not only was their presence favored by both countries, but that the United States, like every other civilized government strong enough to do so, would insist that the treaty be lived up to and would protect its citizens legitimately adventuring in the interest of American trade as well as for their own good fortunes—for of course they went to Mexico to make money, not for their health.

It has remained for the present Administration to disregard precedent, ignore its duty, and abandon its citizens to the caprices of a people in anarchy.

No, our trouble in Mexico has not come from the "foreign interests and concessions," but solely because the American Government washed its hands of its nationals.

Why should the American people have had credence in or given support to a bill in Congress for the Government purchase of ships with which to stimulate trade in Latin America when they viewed the treatment given to these very advance agents of American trade in Mexico by the same Administration that fathered the bill? How can a Government which declines to protect the lives and the property of its citizens in Mexico ask further enlistment in the advance trade agent army or expect confidence in its promises of backing? There must be guarantees; the guarantees which every government gives its nationals, the same guarantees which are provided in the treaty between the United States and Mexico, and which were not fulfilled.

These American business men in Mexico, these advance agents of American trade, do not favor territorial conquest; they want protection of their lives and property; protection to remain and conduct their business; protection of the homes they have built; the protection which their Government is obligated to give them, not as a favor but as a right; the right of the people that made the Government; the right of the people for whom the treaty was made. These men know not only Mexico, they know also the Mexican; not as idealists, nor as sociologists, but as employers who have worked with them, as men who have lived among them for ten, twenty, thirty years.

They know that the Mexican has not had a square deal from his own people; that his courts are corrupt; that in some States communal land has been taken unfairly from him; that the local *jefe*, or boss, is the bane of his existence. But they also know that in order to help the Mexican we must regulate our effort to his understanding and the conditions of his country; we must get the Mexican view-point—see through his eyes, as it were. They know, do these business

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men who have toiled with them, better than any one else, that the Mexican is not ready for self-government; that he has no comprehension of our idea of democracy; that an election in Mexico with the overwhelming majority illiterate and half of the remainder (including the half-breed element, the most vicious element in Mexico) but partly educated, can be nothing else than the farce it always has been and always must be until by the slow means of education the people are prepared for suffrage.

These are the men who believe that if Mexico is to be left to work out her own salvation alone, "to fight it out," only a President with the force to impress his will upon the ever-rising factions, to beat them in battle if need be, will be able to bring peace to the country, and so give her people a chance to make way in education, in political experience, so that they can be some day equipped to come into the full citizenship which should be theirs and will be theirs when they are qualified to take it.

Finally, these men believe, not in "diplomatic welfare work," but in the practical preparation of the Mexicans by the Booker Washington rather than by the Woodrow Wilson formula—*i. e.*, education, vocational training, according to their needs and intelligence, rather than "uplift" experiment on a theory they cannot comprehend, and through a "spiritual union" they neither seek nor desire, nor indeed understand any more than do we.

*The next and concluding article in Mr. Whitney's series will tell how the Mexicans themselves have suffered under the long-prevailing conditions of anarchy*

# ON THE TRAIL OF PROGRESS AND REACTION IN THE WEST

## BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

FOURTH ARTICLE

## SLOWING UP AND SLOWING DOWN—NEBRASKA AND KANSAS

I AM not at all sure that the distinction would hold, but if slowing up in the pace of progress is more or less of a voluntary act, and slowing down indicates fatigue, that is the precise distinction I wish to make between conditions in Nebraska and circumstances in Kansas. Nebraska is slowing up in the onward march, but gives no evidence of weariness. Kansas exhibits some symptoms of at least temporary political exhaustion.

I went first to Nebraska. Some time the reason for Nebraska will be worked out, as it should be, in terms of the psychology of its people and the environment in which they have lived. Nebraskans were originally an unusual kind of folks. The first settlers were the pick of daring men from Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts. They were poor in pocket, but they were workers and dreamers. With the free Homestead Law came the great immigration in covered wagons, or "prairie schooners," as they were called—thousands upon thousands of hardy pioneers with their wives and children, living in log cabins along the streams when the timber was available, and where it was not then in sod houses and dugouts upon the prairie which they had come to plow and to conquer for the boundless prosperity of the Nation. And everywhere they established the free church and the free school. Before teachers came, the better fitted of the log-cabin mothers set apart a certain period each day for the simple instruction of their own and the children of their neighbors. The early pioneer preacher was usually a sturdy, fearless, and admirable type, unlearned and narrow about ruffled shirts and jewelry, but with a practical spiritual sense and rugged manliness and moral sanctity which have added enormous vigor to the higher life of the Western people. The pioneers were constrained by their very surroundings to be

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bearers of each other's burdens, sharers of each other's happinesses and sorrows. As agricultural riches grew, wealth, by the very force of circumstances, became more equitably distributed than in the East. The exploiting characteristic of the mere money-maker was not so much in evidence. It is for reasons like these that the spirit of morality, of religion, of equality, the deep underlying instincts of democracy, are stronger in the West than in the East. Perhaps this helps to account for the rather easy triumphs of woman suffrage and prohibition in the West. It will also help us to account for the fact that the arrogant party boss and the political railway machine have been trodden under foot of the democracy of the free Western homestead.

Nebraska has been radical. For nearly sixty years Nebraska and Kansas have been subject to periodic volcanic outbursts of fiery political energy. And Wall Street has more than once sat up nights in alarm. Well, the physical and moral vigor of pioneers is apt to be radical. But there are other reasons in Nebraska. The border always feels the need of ready money, and the fiat fever of the Territorial days lasted well towards the close of the nineteenth century. But this was not peculiar to Nebraska. It is a National failing. The most depressing chapter of American history, from the colonial days down to 1896, is the financial chapter. Men like Hamilton and Gallatin are oases in a dreary desert of blundering despair. The whole United States is now on the way to financial self-control, but it has been a slow process. Don't blame Nebraska too harshly. At the crest of Territorial settlement she ran into the panic of '57. Just as eastern Nebraska was being widely settled there came the panic of '73. And while western Nebraska was rapidly filling up with farms and homes, on swept the panic of '93. On the whole, there has been a good deal to disturb Nebraska all the way along.

Early poverty, mortgage, drought, flood, prairie fires, grasshoppers, Indians, a quarter-century of falling prices, the absentee ownership of railways and consequent unjust practices and rates—these would make any part of the United States radical, and Nebraska had them all. She has always been seeking a way out for herself and for the country. Some of her proposals have been wise, some have been unwise. The early attempts of Nebraska and near-by States to regulate separately and crudely the inter-State railways were ill considered and drastic, but they pushed the Nation on towards Munn *versus* Illinois and Federal supervision. The free coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen to one, without the aid or consent of any other power, was in 1896 fantastic and absurd—it was agitation—but it led speedily to much-needed reforms in the whole currency and credit system of the country. Such an experiment as the guarantee of bank deposits by the State, in the rather loose and uncritical form of the Nebraska law, may develop a less cautious and easy-going race of bankers than the State now possesses—this remains to be tested—and able and experienced banking ability naturally regards it as a hardship that it should be called upon to help protect the public against "wildcat" institutions; but guarantee of bank deposits is easy to understand in Nebraska. It is the old pioneer spirit of a democracy which seeks by co-operation to relieve individual distress.

And there is another side. There is nothing clearer in the development of Nebraska than the growth of political moderation, than the lessening of mere radicalism as the exasperation of early obstacles has been slowly overcome and a stable prosperity has been established in the commonwealth. But you forget Populism, says my reader, and the unregenerate days of the early '90's of the nineteenth century. Gentle reader, the other day I looked up the Populist platform of that period, and it startled me. The astonishing thing is that so much of their programme has been carried out by the Nation and by most of the States of the country. Like the English Chartists, they were after some things which it was futility to seek, but they were headed right. They wished to see the whole system of politics and government in the United States dominated by the common good and not by a privileged group or class. They were for the parcels post and the postal savings bank. They were against the boss, the railway rebate, the unjust monopolist, the high financier. They insisted upon better conditions for the farming population of the country, that means should be devised so that the man on the land should have a fairer share of the products of his toil, that his opportunities to borrow and sell and buy should be as good as those of any other man. They scented the beginnings of bi-partisan intrigue against the public welfare, and throughout the West and in some parts of the South in the

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one campaign of 1890 they shook the foundations of the old political machines.

In Nebráska it was a revolution. Great open-air mass-meetings from one end of the State to the other bade farewell to ancient political ties, to the music of the homely song of "Good-by, Old Party, Good-by." The wiser of the demands of Populism in Nebraska have slowly been met, and as they have been met the State has grown in balance and in self-control. First came the Australian secret ballot, and the voter thenceforward could register his choice with none to molest or make him afraid. Next came the climax of the long struggle with railway domination of the politics of the State, the Legislature cutting the tether of the free pass which had for a generation held "leading citizens" in leash of the railway machine, and through a Government commission and supervision over rates popular sovereignty at last sat regnant over the old railway regency. At the same time the people wrung from their unwilling representatives a law yielding into their power the nomination as well as the election of candidates to public office. 1907 was the year when freedom woke and the people of Nebraska came into their own. Their Governor and leader was George L. Sheldon. He is a farmer somewhere in Mississippi now. He was not re-elected. As Nebraska looks back, it is difficult to see that any administration did more for the people of the State than the Sheldon administration. But the citizenship of Nebraska was unwary and allowed Sheldon's foes to get him in the next encounter. Democracy will take a rifle on its shoulder and go to the defense of the ideas which its foremost men have established in the law of the land; but democracy is very careless about backing up the personal fortunes and the honor of its choicest leaders—that is, while they are alive. It will be all right on the monuments!

Of recent years progress has been slower in Nebraska than in Wisconsin or Kansas. In 1911 came the initiative and referendum, giving the electorate opportunity, apart from the Legislature, to adopt and reject laws. At the same time a law was passed providing for the commission form of government in cities. But the population has grown more conservative and is slowing up. Such States as Nebraska and South Dakota were more radical twenty years ago than they are now. Their Constitutions then were radical and covered in detail too wide a field. The American-born population on the frontier felt that way. They wished to see every right they could think of established in the fundamental law, and what could be done by government they wished to see done quickly. But the face of the population has changed. A large section of the most progressive element among the American-born pioneers who went out in the homestead period has moved on to the Pacific coast. Many have moved into the towns, and those who have come to till the farms in these States are largely of foreign birth and parentage. The population of Nebraska at present is probably one-half of foreign birth or the children of the first generation.

This element is highly conservative, and has a considerable mixture of the later German immigration and of Bohemians and Scandinavians. The influence of the new stock can be plainly traced in the attitude of the State towards the more recent reforms like prohibition and woman suffrage. Let us take the Germans, for example. They are sound on progress. They are active friends of political freedom and of the efficient reconstruction of State and county and city government. But their views on personal liberty are frequently used by the foes of all reform as a red herring across the trail to draw these good citizens off the scent just at the right time. Here is a situation which makes Nebraska a difficult State for the advance of prohibition, an issue which in a considerable number of the native American commonwealths of the West has already attained significant and startling proportions. It was this rock which bowled Mr. Bryan over in the leadership of the Democratic party within the State in 1910 when he faced the Convention with the county option proposal for the control of the liquor traffic. It is only one of the instances of the courage and moral perception of Mr. Bryan, who fore-read the signs of the times in the mind of the native Western democracy, which ought to be set down on the credit side of the ledger in these days when the country seems to find so much to write on the debit page. But the attitude of the Germans, where their views of personal liberty are not involved, is shown in a very interesting way upon woman suffrage. The more advanced Germans are for it. Woman suffrage has long been an issue in Nebraska and is now very close to winning. Last November, in a total vote of two hundred thousand, it was beaten by only nine

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thousand. And some of the "wet" cities for the first time furnished a majority for woman suffrage. That was the work of the advanced young Germans. Out in the farming communities, where the later migration of Germans, Bohemians, and Scandinavians have their homes, there was a strong voting opposition.

The advance of the people of Nebraska is steadier than it was, but eager and continuous. Owing to the long-standing feud between Bryan and Hitchcock, between radical and reactionary Republicans, it is pretty difficult for anything but mediocre ability to enter into elected public leadership for State officers, and the material center of public idealism—namely, the State Capitol building—is a most disreputable shack. But the pulse of public opinion in Nebraska seemed to me to be exceedingly firm and strong. As to political parties, the Progressive vote fell to ten thousand in 1914—not enough to affect the Governorship, which is now Democratic, but sufficient to defeat four Republican candidates for State office. The old railway group which so long ruled Nebraska was intensely Republican, and, through its hold upon the machinery of the party, controlled the party. But the Republican voters of Nebraska are not of that kind. The rank and file wish political and moral advance. The leaders have usually been against it. The Democratic voters are inclined to be reactionary, but they have developed better men in the front line.

The continuing need of parties and party organization in America is plain, but it is refreshing to observe that the worship of the fetish of mere partyism is broken in Nebraska, and that there is a large independent voting element. One of the evidences of this is a Legislature which, while elected in accordance with party affiliations, has got into the regular habit of dividing in a perfectly non-partisan fashion upon most of the questions which come before it. One of the vital issues in the State is the public ownership and use of the water resources of the Platte and kindred rivers. The Democratic Governor points out that the control of the waters of Nebraska benefits not that State alone, but protects the planters of the South from the freshets along the Mississippi, that the whole project is National, and that the brilliant achievements of the American engineers at Panama might find a sequel in the Mississippi area. I think I have heard that statesmanlike utterance before—and nobody listened!

Another issue in Nebraska is a new Constitution. They have not had one since the "grasshopper" days, and they have tinkered with the old one until it is cumbersome. Tinkering constitutions, especially with the initiative and referendum, after a while gets to be unhealthy for constitutions. The reformers all want a new constitution. The rapidly growing water-power, gas, street-car, and telephone companies are inclined to be against it. There is a reason. There is no reaction on in Nebraska, and cautious people therefore think it an inadvisable time to hold constitutional conventions. The exact reverse is true in Kansas. Kansas is for prohibition three to one, and at the same time just now is in the political doldrums. She needs a constitutional convention badly, but seems to fear that, if there should be one, her own delegates might vote prohibition out of the constitution! When the bogey man is around like that, there is some reaction on! Nebraska needs a constitutional convention because the people are about ready to reorganize their State and county government. It is caving in on them because of its complexity and unworkableness. The expenses of government have nearly tripled in the last decade. In the State departments alone a commission reports that there is probably a million dollars of needless duplication every year which could easily be cut out. Government in Nebraska has grown by a series of separated impulses until there are now eighty-two bureaus or commissions or divisions to administer it. And each of the eighty-two groups goes to the Legislature to lobby, and, through its friends, to secure as much money as it can spend. The desire for economy on the part of the Nebraskan farmer is partly just constitutional, and partly through a wish for real efficiency in government. But it is a healthy sign. In Iowa and Nebraska there is a strong demand to put a time-clock on the Government employees, which is enough to make the cold shivers run down the back of all the patronage jobbery in the country. Nebraska also, like most other States, is coming to see the need of a far shorter ballot, if popular choice of officers is to continue to be anything but a shadow instead of a substance. Ballots in Nebraska have grown to be ninety-two inches long, with eighty choices to be marked by the voter from groups of candidates, to say nothing about deciding on a lot

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of initiative and referendum proposals which demand expert judgment. Of course the voter knows none too much about the legislative and constitutional proposals, and nothing at all about many of the candidates. Nebraska is after the substance rather than the form of democracy, and is sharpening the scythe to cut through this jungle.

The return of good times, the development of irrigation and dry farming, the cream separator, the growing of the great new crops of alfalfa, winter wheat, and sugar beets, the multiplying herds of horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, the interest in enlightenment, the women's clubs, the free libraries in the country districts, the telephone, the automobile, the stone highway, the habit of work ingrained in the pioneer days, the independent spirit which seeks to be free even before it is prosperous, but which then seeks to be prosperous in order to continue to be free—well, Nebraska will make trouble for our reactionary friends for a long time to come. Let them be sure to count on that!

Nebraska and Kansas are in some respects not unlike. The pioneers' prosperity out of tribulation, the splendid human stuff of the commonwealth, its moral conviction, these are Kansas perhaps in fuller measure than Nebraska. But Kansas is homogeneous and native—much more so than Nebraska. Kansas has never been slowed up by the introduction into the population of a large alien and conservative element, as Nebraska has. Kansas was Populist to the limit. Kansas turned to prohibition more than thirty years ago, and overwhelmingly favors that policy to-day. The truth about prohibition in Kansas is very simple. There was a great amount of "boot-legging" in the cities for many years, but gradually a generation grew up which never saw a saloon and had no use for one, and the customers of the boot-leggers died off or moved away. There is very little boot-legging in Kansas to-day; also little pauperism or crime or feeble-mindedness or illiteracy or insanity. The barns are filled with plenty, and the State and National banks overflow with savings. The Kansas farmer is still a borrower for more and more improvements on the land, but he borrows now at home. He depends upon the Easterner no longer. Kansas is a good State and a great State. This is not fundamentally the result of prohibition, either. It is due to the pioneer human stock. And it is also in no small measure due to that particular species of hard red wheat grain which the Mennonites brought with them to Kansas from the Crimea. This has from ten to fifteen per cent more nutriment than any other wheat known, and a year ago Kansas sent $35,000 to the Crimea for new seed to be distributed throughout the commonwealth. That flinty red grain grows better in Kansas than anywhere else in the world. The Minneapolis miller relies upon it for his best flour. And, as a result of the European war, the demand for it now in the whole world is, of course, the most eager and active ever known. The day has gone by in which to waste any pity on the people of Kansas!

Strangely enough, politically just now Kansas shows signs of mental fatigue. She does not want to do anything, but wants to be let alone. Perhaps it is not strange, either. Kansas has been through a thirty years' war, and she shows it. Last winter's Legislature spawned a few measures that were left over from a period of great progressive vitality, including a good rural credits measure, a minimum wage, hours of labor and child labor commissions, a widows' pension act, and a statute permitting National convention delegates to be elected by direct primary. That seems like a good deal. But there was no mistaking the atmosphere of ennui in the State Capitol at Topeka, which everybody recognized as a pretty good reflection of the feeling that people themselves have all over Kansas. There was no leadership in the Legislature, no vitality, no fun in it, as there used to be in the old "Senate lodge" days when Kansas was engaged in the busy process of extracting what was needed from a reluctant machine. Western legislatures have always been very much like those in the East—funny things. They grudgingly deliver what the people demand, under compulsion. And this is representative government—yes? When a legislature in the West goes reactionary, it takes it out on the initiative and referendum. In their platforms in Kansas last summer all parties promised this measure, giving the people the opportunity directly to adopt or reject laws at the general election, but the Legislature refused to pass the necessary resolution last winter.

On the 29th of January every year Kansas celebrates with a big feast the anniversary of her admission into the Union. This year the group of old-time wheel-horses of the Republican machine undertook to make it a festal night of reaction. The occasion did not sit

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well upon the Kansas stomach; which indicates that the fatigue is only temporary, and that a brief rest may work wonders. The Progressive party has done some good in the State. It has helped to finish the job of discrediting the old stand-pat leadership. But it also did some harm, of which the retiring to private life of two able servants of the public like Bristow and Murdock is an example.

The new Governor, Capper, is not aggressive—Kansas wouldn't stand for that kind of a Governor just now, anyway—but he represents clearly the higher type of progressive Republican, and he can be counted on to thwart with his veto anything that would harm the people of Kansas. As in Illinois, so in Kansas, the fusion of the progressive Republicans and the Progressive party men, who last year still had a heavy vote in the State, is the normal outcome for the advancement of political progress in Kansas. In the union of these strong, decent elements is the safety of the State in that particular commonwealth. Kansas is not entirely out of the woods. It is not yet too late for a high official of a big railway system to call up legislators on the 'phone in Topeka and ask them what they mean by this or that foolishness, and explain to them that it must not be repeated.

The rather flabby state of public muscle in Kansas at present is more than anything else the result of the sudden revival of a blind partyism at the last election in the State. Of course it was in the air of the country, and Kansas happened to catch it in a rather virulent form. I am not speaking of an honorable devotion to party government, but of that pure worship of the totem-pole which carries men into all sorts of fantastic and absurd beliefs. The Kansas campaign last fall was waged on the superstition that "beating the Democrats" and creeping back under the skirts of privilege and power is the chief end of man, and there was not a thought as big as a three-cent piece that could get a hearing. This condition of mental bondage is not only destructive of political idealism, but of a genuine system of party government. Political cleavage in a republic is moral and intellectual or it is nothing and useless.

Nebraska and Kansas have long been the target of the ridicule and misgiving of the conservative and moneyed Easterner. I wonder at it. The farmers of the Middle West have helped New York bankers and the country out of financial perplexities more than once. In 1877, when John Sherman was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, he decided that the way to resume specie payments was to resume. But resumption was actually accomplished through the export of the products of the farmers of the great Middle West, who, if they did not draw gold into the country, at least made it unnecessary to send gold out. At the outbreak of the present war we owed Europe three hundred millions. And the possible demand for it gave Wall Street great concern. But the increasing exports of the toil of the farmers of the Middle West paid this vast sum off rapidly, so that we were soon over our alarm. And, furthermore and finally, if there is any citizen in the United States who can be counted upon to shoulder a rifle and go to the front in defense of genuine property right, it is the Nebraskan and Kansas farmer. He has a property stake in the richest soil in the world. He is the greatest natural conservative force in the American democracy. And the politicians of Wall Street—if there be any such—would be wise to understand it.

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# THE NEW BOOKS

**Will to Live (The).** By Henry Bordeaux. Translated by Pitts Duffield. Duffield & Co., New York. 75c.

Travelers in France, and especially those in Savoy, are presumably familiar with the fine old town of Chambéry and its superb mountain neighborhood. Such persons should have special interest in taking up "Les Roquevillard," a novel which now appears in English translation in exactly the size and yellow paper cover familiar to those who have bought books in France. In some respects it is a fair example of M. Henry Bordeaux's matter and manner. Like his other books, there is here an emphasis on the French tenacious hold on property, on daily toil, on family loyalty—indeed, the watchword of the present volume is family. As M. Bordeaux says in his Introduction: "The soil, and the dead who sow the seed of our sensibilities, are carried with us in our hearts if we have extracted the essential quality of tradition, that is to say, a sense of honor, and that will to live which the sentiment of duration incarnate in the family communicates to us." "The Will to Live," to quote the English title, is hardly a great novel either in plot or in character drawing. As regards style more is to be said for it. But the book has another mission; it is one of those volumes which show to the world that there is something else in France besides Paris. The life lived in the provinces is, if not more interesting, more characteristic of the real French.

**Commercial Work and Training for Girls.** By Jeannette Eaton and Bertha M. Stevens. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

While the conclusions reached in this well-arranged and clear-cut statement of the question of commercial work and training for girls are in line with plain common sense and experience, it is doubtless necessary to lead up to them by the thorough working out of detailed investigation, or such investigation would not be undertaken in every branch of modern reform. One would think that it would be patent to every one, and most of all to the ofttimes disgusted employer, that a girl to be even reasonably efficient in a business office should have had both high school and business training. But, as the case stands, employers seem to prefer a cheap girl at five dollars a week, rather than one who is competent and commands higher wages. On the other hand, girls hurry into so-called "business colleges" from the public school grades, enticed by the promise of short courses in stenography and high wages. To combat these two evils, this book has been compiled from carefully collected facts. Businesslike as it is, it is full of pure human nature, and must go far to accomplish its aim. The recommendations for improvement of present conditions; the absolute assertion that "there is no over-supply of well-trained, efficient workers;" the advice to employers as to careful assignment of work and the usefulness of some variety in it; and, among other descriptions of labor-saving devices, that of the telautograph—each and all are points of importance and general interest in the book.

**Century's Change in Religion (A).** By George Harris. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.25.

This is a very excellent, brief, compact, and readable history of the changes in religious faith which have taken place during the last hundred years. It is written by one who is not only thoroughly familiar with those changes, but also has had no inconsiderable influence in promoting them. We commend it heartily both to clergymen and laymen who wish to acquaint themselves with the movement of religious thought in our time without undertaking a prolonged and detailed study of various authorities. The book is, however, almost wholly devoted to a portraiture of changes in religious thought. It tells nothing respecting the social and practical religious activities which have been so distinctive a characteristic of the last half-century, as illustrated, for example, in the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the King's Daughters, and the Home and Foreign missionary activities of the Church.

**Argentina.** By George J. Mills. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

**Argentine in the Twentieth Century (The).** (The Modern World Series.) By Albert B. Martinez and Maurice Lewandowski. Translated by Bernard Miall. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

Of all the South American countries the Argentine has made the most wonderful economic progress. Without doubt the progress of the next two decades in the Argentine will also be phenomenal. Thus, while other South American countries interest us also on the side of archæology and history, Argentina interests us chiefly on the economic side.

Mr. Miall's volume tells us about this. Of all the South American republics Argentina occupies the foremost economic position. A number of books have already appeared descriptive of the country, but in no one of them is the information put forth more clearly or comprehensively than in the present volume. It should have and doubtless will have wide reading.

Another book on the Argentine represents the collaboration of experts. It is a translation from the French. Published some years ago, it has now been brought up to date. The revision must have been an active work in itself, for, as has been said, few countries have in so short a time realized so rapid a progress as has Argentina. The book is valuable as a book of refer-



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ence concerning economic conditions. As to politics, there is an apparent avoidance of that subject, though we are told a great deal about the connection of the Government with finance and about finance in general.

**Modern Russia** (The Modern World Series). By Gregor Alexinsky. Translated by Bernard Miall. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

**Russia and the World.** By Stephen Graham. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

Two volumes on Russia have just appeared and are of great interest. The first is by a Russian; the second by a Scotchman who has lived long in Russia.

Perhaps no book brings out more vividly the violently contrasted elements to be found in Russia than does the Alexinsky volume. It describes that country as combining an arrogant, over-fed aristocracy with millions of human beings sheltered under roofs of straw and nourished by bark bread; as a place where sincere aspirations towards liberty contend against the worst possible methods of repression; where a proletariat trained in the ideas of a theoretic Socialism is side by side with great Russian overlords who do not recognize the most elementary demands of justice; finally, where profoundly great writers and artists live alongside a hundred million illiterate people.

Mr. Graham's book, while perhaps lacking some of the spontaneity of his previous volumes on Russia, is of value in further acquainting us with the Russia of to-day. Whether this author describes the feelings of the Cossacks at the news of the war; whether he tells us about individuals, as for instance about the Czar; whether he tells us about policies, such as the prohibition of vodka, for example; or whether he discusses racial and national characteristics as he does in speaking of the Poles and Jews, Mr. Graham is always interesting, even if at times we may not see eye to eye with him.

**Life of Edward Rowland Sill.** By William B. Parker. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.75.

It is many years since a small group of readers discovered in Edward Rowland Sill's "Hermitage" the promise of real poetry. Born in a colonial Connecticut town, graduated from Yale College, an experimenter in various fields of work, a teacher of English on the Pacific Coast, and especially at the University of California during the last brief years of his life, somewhat overshadowed by illness, Sill was a type of the American student and scholar who never finds the right environment, but who never forsakes his ideals. In temperament and spiritual experience this biography often recalls Arthur Hugh Clough, who was always pressing forward to the goal, but never quite touched it; whose achievement lay, not in the rounding out of his career, but in its loyalty and idealism. Sill wrote a few poems which, like "The Fool's Prayer" and "Opportunity," have been very widely read, and many other poems which have found a place in the unpublished anthologies of men and women who love poetry for its own sake. He was in no sense a great poet; but he was always a very true poet. His life, written sympathetically, is a record of almost uninterrupted struggle. There were many satisfactions by the way: warm friendships, the joy of seeking the highest things; but there was always the sense of promise not quite fulfilled, of aims not wholly achieved.

In a little group of poems Sill recalls the quality which the French associated with the "little masters;" quiet perfection of form, freshness of feeling, and a poetic quality of thought; visions which lack bigness, but have suggestions of greatness about them.

**Cruise of the Cormorant (The).** By A. Hyatt Verrill. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.35.

A boy's book—yes, and a man's, too. Most men think they know something about the line of islands from Porto Rico by way of St. Thomas, Santa Cruz, Guadalupe, and Martinique to Barbados and Tabago, but in Mr. Verrill's book they will doubtless find some information new to them. It is hardly necessary to speak of the value of this book to any boy. It is of double value, for it combines the charm of a sea story—and every boy loves a sea story—with some picturesque facts concerning the dozen or more fascinating tropical countries in the itinerary.

**How Belgium Saved Europe.** By Dr. Charles Sarolea. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $1.

This is a very interesting account of the tragic drama enacted on the stage of Belgium. It does not contain much which the readers of The Outlook do not already know; but it contains the facts brought together and put in their right relations and in their historical perspective, and will intensify the conviction in the minds of all impartial readers that, whatever may be said of other aspects of the war, there can be but one judgment, and that of condemnation, for the course of Germany toward a neighbor whose only offense was the brave defense which she put up when she was attacked without even the semblance of an excuse.

**Napoleon I: A Biography.** By August Fournier. Translated by Annie Elizabeth Adams. (New Popular Edition.) In 2 volumes. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $3.50.

Of this work we said in 1911: "It may be confidently recommended to the student of history as an excellent and, on the whole, impartial account of the life of one of the most enigmatical characters in history." The publishers have in this edition, printed from the same plates, brought it within the reach of a larger circle by reducing its price from eight dollars to three and a half. It may be particularly recommended for town and village libraries.

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# BY THE WAY

The steamer Belgia recently sailed from Baltimore with one of the largest cargoes ever sent from that port—a total of nearly 12,000 tons. Of this, 4,500 tons consisted of corn destined for Marseilles, and nearly 6,000 of iron piping for a gigantic oil plant on the Persian Gulf which is to supply fuel to the British navy. Additional interest is imparted to this trip from the fact that on its last previous voyage from Baltimore the Belgia was flying the German flag. She became a prize, and as such is now under British registry.

As showing the popularity of motion pictures among children in the smaller cities, Mr. P. F. Jerome, of the Executive Committee of the National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures, states in "Rural Manhood" that in South Bend, Indiana, among 2,035 children, 1,465 reported that they had visited the "movies" once or more a week. Perhaps the pictures are too popular with some of these children; for "a very large number stated that they attended shows from three to six times a week."

Five tunnels through the Pyrenees are to make communication easier between France and Spain. The work on these tunnels is progressing rapidly in spite of the war, Spanish workmen having taken the place of the Frenchmen who have joined the army. The trains will be operated by electricity, and June, 1916, may see them running.

Russia is to have a ship-load of American shoes for her soldiers. The consignment consists of 2,500,000 pairs of shoes, and is probably the largest shipment of footwear ever made.

Dramatic critics who aid to better things on the part of actors and playwrights are regarded as friends by the profession, says an actor in the "Dramatic Mirror;" but the critic who sees parts of two or three plays on the same night and then ridicules the performances is doing a foolish and unjust thing. The actor tells of a critic who did this, and who, on witnessing an entire performance of one of the plays in question, "admitted that his criticism was unjust, but the rules of his paper forbade retraction."

In an article on "Campaigning under Botha" in the "Atlantic Monthly," Mr. Cyril Campbell tells of the terrifying experience of being under fire from a German aeroplane in Southwest Africa. "For a second or so," he says, "we all stared as if fascinated by this grim, ominous thing; then realization came to us, and I saw men who had never blenched at shrapnel or the murderous hail of machine guns turn pale and lick dry lips with an even drier tongue. . . . I saw a tiny object fall from its under side, and to my horror I could have sworn that it was falling straight on me—though I learned afterward from men a hundred yards away that they had precisely the same idea themselves. . . . One man was killed and three wounded; and then rage somehow mastered our terror."

A writer in "Yachting" says that the opening of the Panama Canal will make a South Pacific cruise a delightful possibility for the yachtsman who has exhausted the pleasures of cruising in the West Indies or the Mediterranean; and that "the South Pacific cruise need not be a pleasure reserved exclusively for the opulent owner of a steam yacht, but it is a thoroughly practicable undertaking for the owners of small sailing craft." In such a cruise, he says, the beautiful Marquesas Islands especially "approach a realization of a coming to the mythical Islands of the Blest."

One of the interesting things about a semi-technical magazine like "Yachting," quoted above, is the unknown world of nomenclature to which it introduces the non-nautical reader. The fascination which attracts one who begins to learn a new language is in these headlines that savor of sea-salt: "Gamming with the Editor," "Fitting the Garboard," "Footing vs. Pointing," "Emergency Gaskets," "Painting the Bilge," "Excessive Roach in Sails."

"Don't talk war; talk claim prevention," was the appeal of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway to its employees in a campaign to lessen damage claims for careless handling of freight. The rough handling of cars caused the largest number of these claims, seventy per cent of which were for amounts of less than $10. The freight handlers and trainmen responded so loyally to the road's appeal that in five months they saved $146,000.

Professor Glen L. Swiggett, of the University of Tennessee, who is Chairman of the Foreign Trade Committee of the Knoxville, Tennessee, Board of Commerce, in an article recently published in "The Nation's Business," the official publication of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, urges the establishment of a school in which business men who expect to enter foreign trade may receive necessary instruction. This school might take the form of a graduate school of commerce in New York or Washington to work in co-operation with a Federal School of Commerce.

Webster's last words, "I still live," and Mark Twain's yet more famous assertion that accounts of his death were grossly exaggerated, were no doubt brought to the mind of the Rev. Frederick W. Neve, Archdeacon of the Blue Ridge in the Diocese of Virginia, on reading the caption of a picture in The Outlook of April 28 in which he was described as "the late Bishop Neve." We are glad to state that Mr. Neve is very much alive, and that he hopes to devote many more years to his work of helping the members of "the church of the lean land."



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